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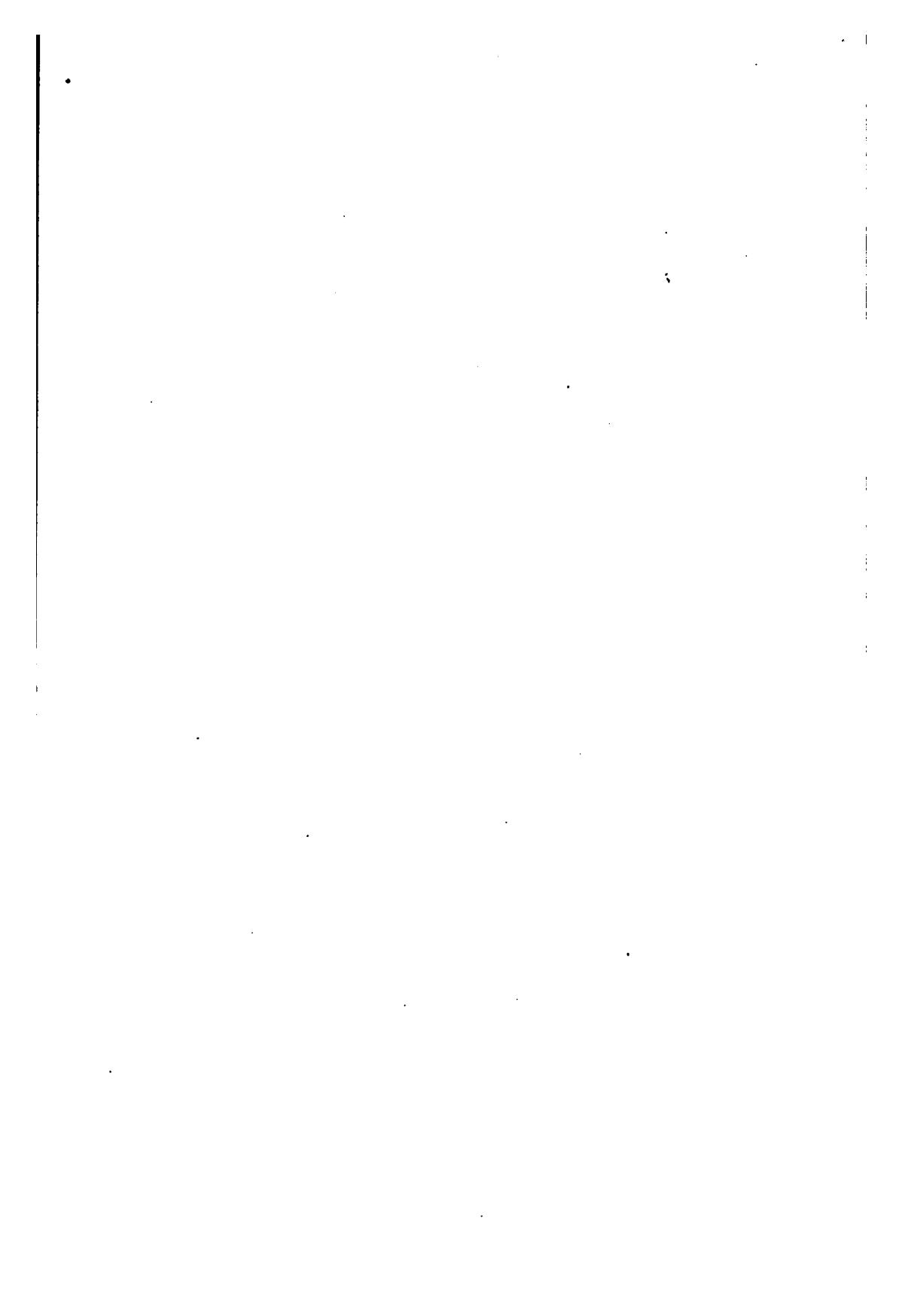
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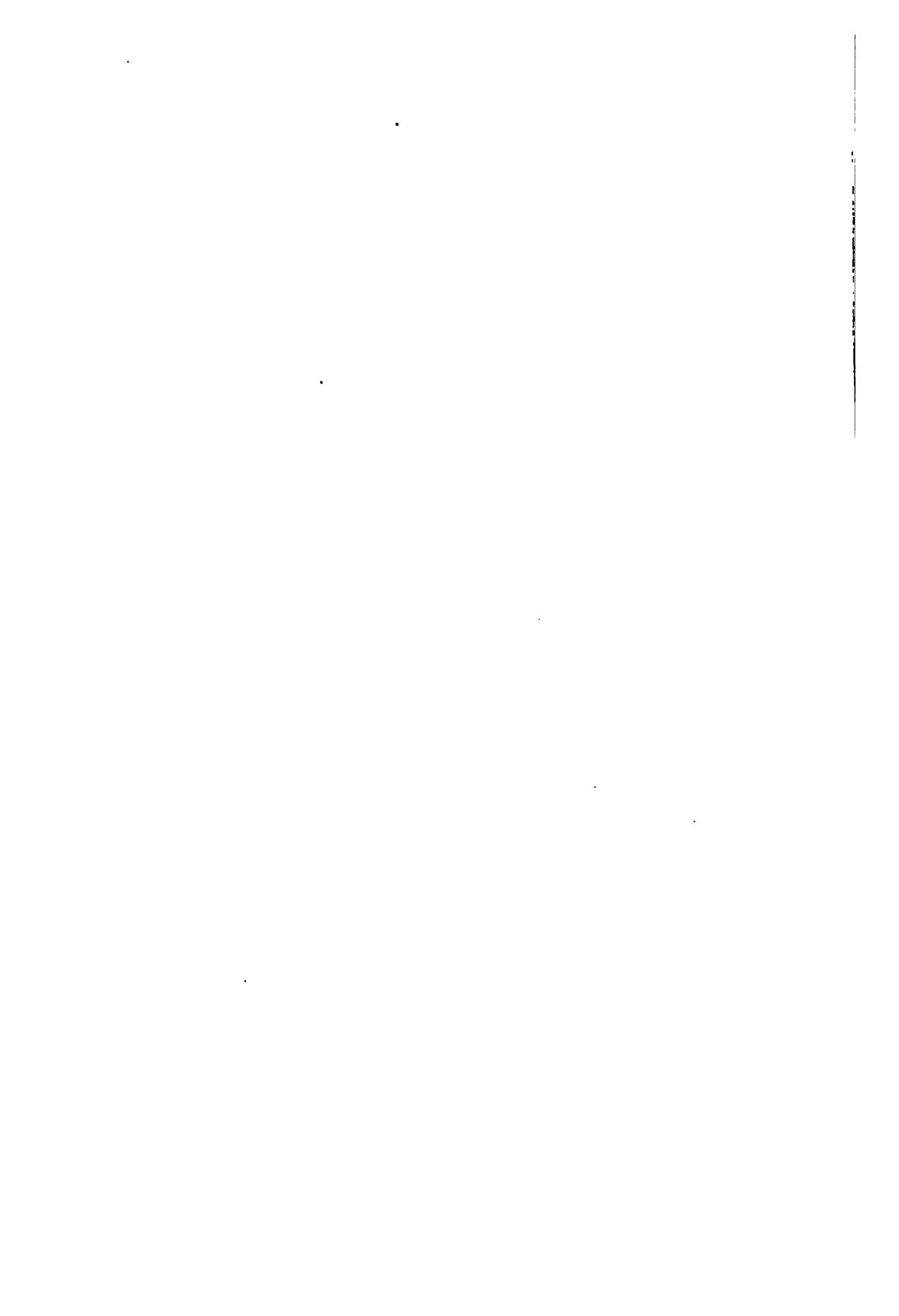
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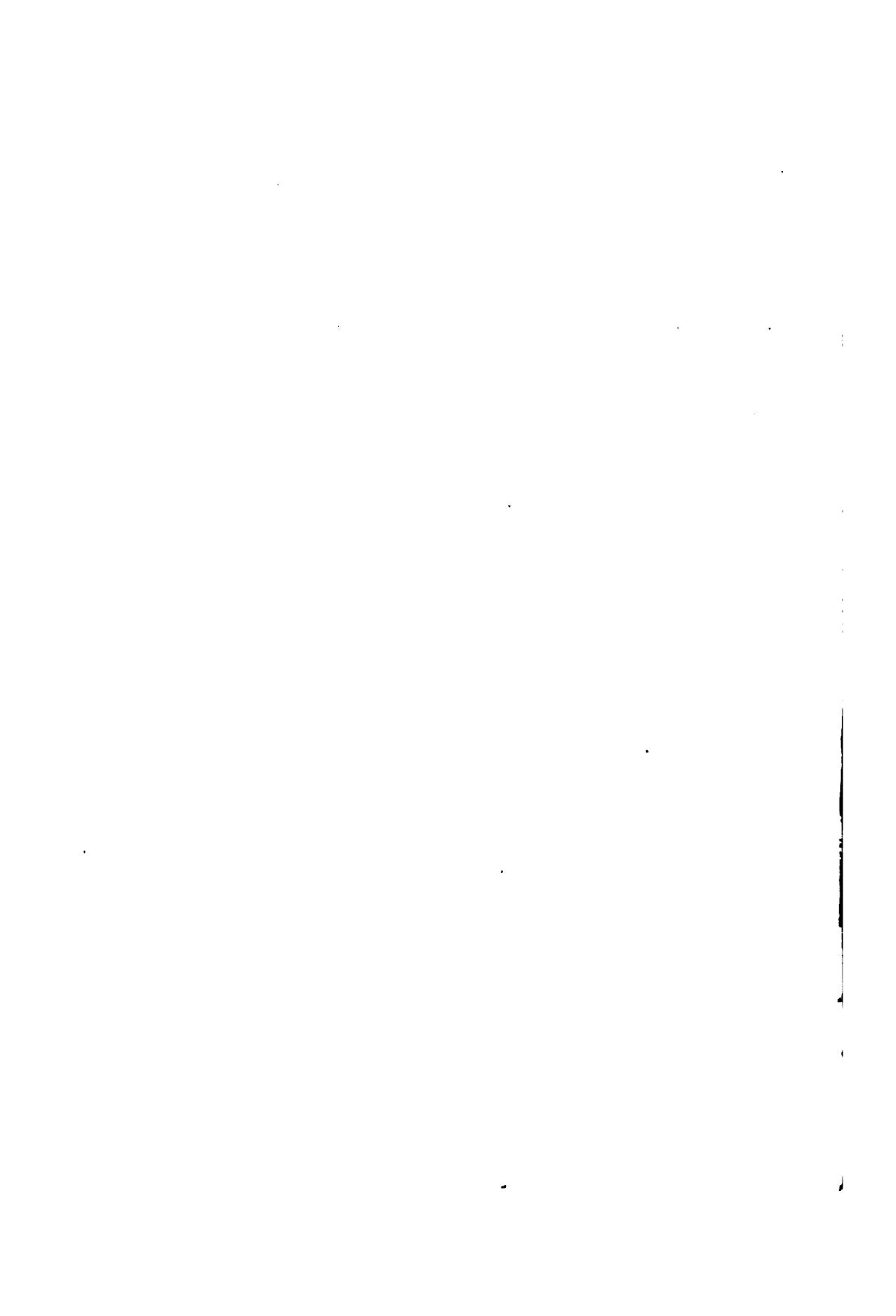
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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER 4, AND NOVEMBER 1, 1901.

THE RED ROSE QUESTION.

MINUTES OF THE OCTOBER MEETING.

REVOLUTIONARY DAYS.

MINUTES OF THE NOVEMBER MEETING.

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VOL. VI. NO. 1.

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HISTORICAL PAPERS AND ADDRESSES

OF THE

LANCASTER COUNTY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME VI

1901-1902.

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LANCASTER, PA.

1902.

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(4)

land for the rental of "one peppercorn annually if the same be lawfully demanded," and, again, for the "rent of one grain of good merchantable winter wheat yearly forever, if the same shall be lawfully demanded." The lawyers tell me that similar conditions are referred to in the Commentaries of Blackstone, so the practice of giving lands of great value to friends for a trifling consideration, antedates Stiegel's gift by many years—how many it would be interesting to know, and the investigation is worth making.

Not long ago a newspaper correspondent came to the front with the announcement that Henry William Stiegel was not, as had generally been supposed, the person who first employed the red rose device as a payment for a fictitious debt. The correspondent alluded to, in proof of his contention, gave the substance of a clause which was found in a number of individual deeds which were made prior to 1750, or nearly half a century before Stiegel's, to Zion Church, by the distinguished Casper Wistar, of Philadelphia, who came to America in 1717, and established what is believed to have been the earliest glass factory in the colonies, near Salem, New Jersey. That person owned lands in what is now Berks county, which he sold to various purchasers. In making his deeds, in addition to the stipulated amounts of purchase money, he also exacted the payment of a red rose. One purpose of this correspondent was to show that not only was Stiegel not the originator of the red rose custom, but also that he was merely a latter-day copyist, who has been receiving credit for what is not only a charming bit of sentiment, but which is at the same time unique in its conception.

This accusation is unjust. There is no evidence to show that Stiegel at any time claimed originality for the red rose idea or took special praise or

honor to himself for incorporating the payment of it in his gift-deed to the church. On the other hand, we think he is entitled to all the credit which so generous a donation, voluntarily made, without other consideration than the sum of sixty-six cents to make the deed conform with the existing law's demands. If I remember aright, the evidence adduced in the Wistar deeds, the payment of the red rose was in addition to the payment of a considerable sum of money, which no doubt represented the actual value of the land. There was no poetic sentiment in that so far as we can discern at this distant day. Why the red rose was called into the transaction the correspondent did not tell us, doubtless because he did not know.

This brings me to the purpose of this communication, which is to show that Casper Wistar was no more entitled to the credit of originating the beautiful red-rose idea than Henry William Stiegel, and that one more celebrated than either of them had employed this beautiful symbol in business transactions before either of the historical personages we have referred to was born.

A parchment deed, one of the old-fashioned kind, such as our fathers used to pass to each other when they sold real estate, lately came into my hands. It was given by Martin Bowman and Elizabeth, his wife, to one, Abraham Miller, to cover a sale of the one-half of thirty-five acres of land, the land being part of a five-thousand-acre tract, which had been conveyed in 1742 to one, William Allen, by the proprietaries "under and subject to the Yearly rent of one Red Rose to the Proprietaries of the said province, their heirs and successors forever, if demanded." It is further said the above-mentioned five thousand acres are part of the fifty thousand acres which William Penn in 1682 conveyed in fee

simple to Sir John Fagg. The deed, in addition, mentions two further sales of the land by still other deeds, the last by Jacob Miller, and in the latest one, dated 1770, the sale is made "subject to the Yearly Interest thereon," which was, of course, the one red rose exacted when the five thousand acres were sold away from the original Fagg's Manor tract.

It seems to me that we have here a clue which throws some light on this red rose business. It seems to have been in use in Penn's time. He brought it with him from England or Ireland. Where did it originate? Was it a customary thing when one wished to make a gift of real estate to another in fee simple to attach this limited fee, to legalize the transaction? It is not improbable that the idea may have had its origin far back in the annals of Great Britain. We know the Lancaster Plantagenets adopted a red rose as their symbol and the York branch a white one. If access could be had to old English deeds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is possible the red rose would be found even at that remote period playing the same part which we have seen it did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Here is an extract from the Bowman deed, referring back to the original Penn deed:

THIS INDENTURE, Made The Sixteenth Day of July, In the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty Four Between Martin Bowman and Elizabeth his wife of the Township of Lebanon in the County of Lancaster and Province of Pennsylvania, of the one part and Abraham Miller of Lebanon Township county and province aforesaid of the other part— Whereas William Penn formerly of London and then of Dublin, Esquire, did by Deeds of Lease and Release Bearing date Respectively the Second

and Third Days of April In the Year of Our Lord 1742 (Reciting as Therein Recited and for The Consideration Therein Mentioned Grant Bargain Sell and Convey Unto William Allen in fee the full and Just proportion and Quantity of Five Thousand acres of Land to be admeasured and Computed according to The Stature of The Thirty Third of King Edward The first) Situate Laying and Being Within The province of Pennsylvania Under and subject to the Yearly Rent of one Red Rose to the Proprietaries of The Said province Their heirs and Successors for Ever if Demanded Which said Five Thousand acres is part of The Fifty Thousand acres of land Which William Penn Esquire late Proprietor and Governor of The Said Province did by Deeds of Lease and Release dated Respectively The Fourth and fifth Days of September 1682 Bargain Sell and Convey in Fee Simple Unto Sir John Fogg (Fagg) and his Heirs in Trust as to one Moiety Thereof to and for the Use of William Penn Esquire, Father of the said first named William Penn and his Heirs for Ever AND WHICH Five Thousand Acres Were also by Deeds of Lease and Release Dated Respectively The Twenty Fourth and Twenty Fifth Days of September 1731 From John Thomas and Richard Penn Esquires then proprietaries of The Said Province, &c.

The deed then proceeds to define the amount of land sold and the price paid for the same, with all the rights and appurtenances thereto belonging, "The Lotts and Liberty Land appurtenances Thereto Excepted and Reserved."

Still later, in 1770, the other half of the 35 acres conveyed in the first deed was also sold to Martin Bowman for the sum of £18. This second deed or conveyance, after reciting all the conditions in the usual way, closes by saying "Under and Subject to the Yearly Quitrent thereon that is the red rose."

Minutes of the October Meeting.

Lancaster, Oct. 4, 1901.

The October meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon, in the Society's room, on the third floor of the Y. M. C. A. building, President Steinman presiding. The roll of officers was called and the minutes of the last meeting were read by the Secretary. The Librarian announced the accessions to the library in the way of exchanges and the following donations: A brief history of Harewood, the original home of the early Washington's in Virginia, donated by Mrs. Emma Gardiner; a fine picture of George Ross, the signer, framed, donated by Mr. James D. Law, of this city; the original manuscript containing the organization of a debating club in the village of New Holland seventy-five years ago, every member signing it being dead many years, donated by Geo. O. Roland.

The paper of the day, by Frank R. Diffenderffer, and read by S. M. Sener, Esq., was on "The Red Rose Question," its purpose being to show that the custom of giving valuable gifts of land by one person to another for so slight a recompense as a red rose did not originate with Baron Henry William Stiegel, but can be traced as far back as 1682 in deeds given by William Penn. The opinion of the writer was that it was an old English, or Irish, custom transplanted to this country by Penn himself.

Considerable discussion ensued over the practice of giving or selling real estate 150 or 200 years ago by one person to another, with merely enough

(9)

coin or other consideration to render
the transaction legal.

The Society authorized the officers
of the same to prepare and issue a
circular for a specified purpose.

There being no other business the
Society, on motion, adjourned.

REVOLUTIONARY DAYS

Copyright, Nov., 1901, by S. M. Sener.

How much of interest there is in old affairs few persons realize who do not watch the vast amount of work being done by the numerous historical, patriotic and hereditary societies that are in existence all over the country. Nearly every number of the publications of these societies contains something new, interesting and important, and the writer may be pardoned for entertaining a just pride in the productions of the members of our own society, which is doing much to revive an interest in our own local history, to preserve the records of the past, and to clear up facts that have become hidden in the haze of time. The writer has before him two old account books, the contents of which are entirely new to both local and State historians, they never having appeared heretofore in print, not even being mentioned in the ninety or more volumes of the "Colonial Records" and "State Archives." They are the account books of John Hubley and John Miller, Commissioners of Purchases in Lancaster during the Revolutionary times. The account book of John Hubley is the property of Mr. George Steinman, President of our Society, and that of John Miller is the property of the Society, it having been donated to the same some time since by Mr. John R. Russel. The contents of neither of these books were dreamed of until they fell under the observation of the writer, who at once saw their value, and who ascertained by examination of the various printed accounts of the Revolutionary period that they were new to history, and now takes pleasure in giving them to the members of this Society, with such annotations as increase their value.

The account book of John Hubley is a small volume, 4 by 8 inches in size, and contains a large number of receipts of a nature personal to Mr. Hubley, but among them are many which are of historical interest. They are the receipts of various hotel keepers and private individuals for entertainment of soldiers in Lancaster, and the general form of the receipt was as follows:

"Received of John Hubley — for my account against the Continent of America for entertaining riflemen."

In some few instances the receipt states "against the Continental Congress." A large number of the receipts were signed in German, and the writer has had such signatures carefully translated. In this connection a word as to who John Hubley was will not be amiss. He was a member of the well-known Lancaster family of that name. On October 17, 1732, there landed at Philadelphia Joseph Hubley and his two sons, Bernard and Michael, and daughter, Susanna, from the ship Pink. Joseph died soon afterward, probably in Philadelphia, and in 1740 Bernard and Michael came to Lancaster. Michael, who was born in 1722, in Maulbron, Germany, married at Lancaster to Rosina Stumpf in 1745, died in 1804, was the father of John Hubley, subject of our sketch. Rosina Stumpf had been born at Schwaigern, near Heilbron, in Wurtemberg, in the same place where Gottlieb Sohner, the ancestor of the writer, who came to America in 1749, was born in 1721; and, in this connection, it is also stated that Johannes Eberman, ancestor of the Eberman family, was also born at Schwaigern, in 1722. John Hubley had six brothers and sisters, one of whom, Elizabeth Hubley, born September 28, 1755, was married on December 17, 1786, to Daniel Difenderffer, who belonged to the family of which our Secretary, Mr. F. R. Difffen-

derffer, is a member, having been a half-brother to David Diffenderffer, grandfather of F. R. Diffenderffer.

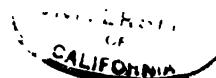
John Hubley was born at Lancaster, on December 25, 1747, and married Maria Magdalena Lauman, a daughter of Ludwig Lauman. He read law under Edward Shippen, and became a lawyer in 1769. He was a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention of 1776, and was appointed a commissary, with rank of Major, on January 11, 1777, having prior to that been a sub-Lieutenant of Lancaster county. He was also authorized to employ all the shoemakers among the Hessians brought to Lancaster in order that they make shoes for the State troops, and to pay them a small sum for such services. £2,000 was set apart for him to purchase leather and other materials needed. He was



THE POWDER MAGAZINE.

also authorized to erect a powder magazine, 24x36 feet, and other military store-houses at Lancaster for the State.

On March 18, 1778, he was directed to supply to Major Wertz as much gunpowder as would fill 20,000 cartridges. Major Wertz being directed to make up that many cartridges for the use of the State Guards. He died at Lancaster, January 21, 1821, aged 74 years, and so far as known the children of Dr. M. L.



(13)

Herr are the only living descendants of the line of John Hubley.

The writer has abridged and formulated the receipts in the account book of John Hubley, and they are herewith given:

Paid Peter Ribbert, Oct. 23, 1775, for riding express, £2:7:6.

Paid George Hoofnagle, Oct. 23, 1775, for entertaining Capt. Smith's company of riflemen, £22:14:3.

Capt. Ross' company, £2:10:0.

Paid John Lindsay, for entertaining riflemen, Oct. 23, 1775, 12s.

Paid Adam Reigart, Oct. 24, 1775, for entertaining riflemen and advanced to drummers and "pfeiffers:" Captain Smith's company, £4:18:11; ditto, drummers and pfeiffers, £4:2:6.

Paid Michael Diffenderffer, Oct. 24, 1775: Capt. Price's Company, £1:7:0; Capt. Cresap's Company, £3:17:0; ditto, £4:13:0; ditto, for a rifle, £6:0:0; Captain Stephenson's Company, \$0:19:6; Captain Dowdle's Company, £1:4:0.

Paid George Strohley, Oct. 24, 1775, for entertaining riflemen: Captain Price's Company, £6:17:0; Captain Cresap's Company, £6:16:6; Captain Smith's Company, £3:17:0; Captain Stephenson's Company, £1:0:0.

Paid Anthony Waltz, Oct. 24, 1775, for entertaining Riflemen: Captain Stephenson's Company, £1:0:0; Captain Cresap's Company, £4:16:0.

Paid John Fellman, Oct. 24, 1775: Captain Price's Company, £4:17:6; Captain Cresap's Company, £4:16:0; Captain Stephenson's Company, £1:4:0.

Paid Michael Lightner, Oct. 24, 1775: Captain Smith's Company, £5:15:0: for liquor to Campble, Nowel & Connell, £1:10:10; Captain Ross Company, £16:11:0.

Paid Christopher Reigart, Oct. 24, 1775, for necessaries furnished to Captains Smith's and Ross' Riflemen, £16:3:2.

Paid John Vully, Oct. 24, 1775, for services done in raising of rifle companies in Lancaster, £4:15:6.

Paid Henry Small, Oct. 25, 1775, for entertaining Daniel Johnson, one of the riflemen in Capt. Ross' Company, £2:5:0.

Paid Stephen Martin, Oct. 25, 1775, for entertaining Captain Cresap's Company, £3:14:0; Captain Smith's Company, £3:3:8; Captain Ross' Company, £2:15:0.

Paid Peter Row, Oct. 25, 1775, £3:10:0, for riding express.

Paid John Appely, Oct. 26, 1775, for entertaining Captain Cresap's Company of Riflemen, £4:8:0.

Paid Christopher Hayne, Caspar Fordney and Nicholas Miller, Oct. 27, 1775, for making canteens, etc., for riflemen, £9:18:10.

Paid Christopher Breidenhart, Oct. 31, 1775, for entertaining Riflemen of Captain Cresap's Company, £5:6:6; also for same company, £8:10:0.

Paid Andrew Leicy, Oct. 31, 1775, 20s, which he paid to Daniel Cartey for his account for entertaining riflemen.

Paid Caspar Kruglars, Oct. 31, 1775, for entertaining riflemen. 10s:9.

Paid Francis McCabe, Nov. 1, 1775, for his account against the Continental Congress, 38s.

Paid Conrad Walfley, Nov. 8, 1775, £4:15 1, for entertaining riflemen.

Paid Matthew McHugh and John Jordan, Nov. 9, 1775, £8:2:3, for an account mentioned in John Hubley's list from Congress as due to Matthew McClure, but which should have been Matthew McHugh, and in order that John Hubley be safe in paying said money to said McHugh, said McHugh and Jordan promised to repay the same should any McClure make a demand for the same.

Paid Abraham Doerr, Nov. 9, 1775, for entertaining riflemen, £3:10:4.

Paid John Harris, Nov. 9, 1775, for entertaining Captain Smith's Company,

£19:14:6; Captain Clugage's Company,
15s:6.

Paid John Kuntz, Nov. 11, 1775, for
entertaining Riflemen, £1:5:0.

Paid John Messenkope, Nov. 11, 1775,
for entertaining Captain Cresap's Com-
pany of Riflemen, £4:16:0; Captain
Dowdle's Company, 7s.

Paid James Webb, Jr., Nov. 13, 1775,
for entertaining Captain Price's Com-
pany, £4:5:0; Captain Cresap's Com-
pany, £6:4:6; Captain Morgan's Com-
pany, 10s.; Captain Stephenson's Com-
pany, £4:14:0; Captain Dowdle's Com-
pany, £3:19:8.

Paid Philip Crawford, Nov. 13, 1775,
for entertaining Captain Price's Com-
pany, £1:12:0; Captain Cresap's Com-
pany, £4:16:0.

Paid John Henry, Nov. 13, 1775, for
entertaining Captain Cresap's Company,
£2:6:0; Captain Morgan's Company,
13s.; Captain Smith's Company,
£2:19:0; Captain Ross' Company,
£3:12:0.

Paid Mathias Graeff, for William
Simpson, Nov. 22, 1775, the sum of
£15, due said Simpson by the Conti-
nental Congress, and said Graeff prom-
ised that if said Simpson should at any
time return and claim said sum it
should be repaid, and said Graeff would
individually refund the same without
loss of time or expense or trouble.

Paid John Grosh, Nov. 27, 1775, for
entertaining riflemen, 9s. 4d.

Paid Thomas Edwards, Dec. 5, 1775,
for entertaining riflemen, £3:9:4.

Paid Peter Goater, Dec. 9, 1775, for
entertaining riflemen, £2:12:1.

Paid George Fry, Dec. 15, 1775, for
entertaining Captain Smith's Com-
pany, £4:17:4; ditto, 6s.:7.; Captain
Ross' Company, £1:7:6.

Paid Abram Holmes, Dec. 15, 1775,
£5:7:5, for entertaining riflemen.

Paid Mathias Slough, Dec. 30, 1775,
for entertaining Captain Smith's Com-
pany, £9:12:4.

Paid John Miller, Jan. 27, 1776, for
work done for the riflemen, 8s:1.

Paid John Harris, Feb. 6, 1776, for entertaining riflemen, £7:1:0.

Paid Andreas Rehm, Feb. 7, 1776, for entertaining riflemen, £3:3:6.

Paid Leonard Keller, Feb. 7, 1776, for entertaining riflemen, £2:4:0.

Paid Abraham Rehm, Feb. 7, 1776, for entertaining riflemen, £2:2:0.

Paid George Dougherty, Feb. 7, 1776, for entertaining riflemen, 16s:9.

Paid Thomas Simpson, Feb. 8, 1776, for entertaining riflemen, £8:5:2.

Paid William Foulk, March 7, 1776, £3:18:0, for entertaining riflemen.

Paid Marcus Bingley, March 13, 1776, for entertaining Captain Smith's Company, 17s:4; Captain Ross' Company, £3:16:6; Captain Stephenson's Company, 9s.; Captain Dowdle's Company, £3:5:0.

Paid John Gerber, May 2, 1776, for entertaining riflemen of Captain Smith's Company, £1:13:4.

Paid Bairfoot Brunson, June 11, 1776, for entertaining Captain Patterson's Company, of riflemen, £3:6.

Paid Jacob Dickerte, July 7, 1776, for work done for the riflemen, £2.

Paid Jerome Heinzelman, July 9, 1776, for entertaining riflemen, £1:8:5.

Paid Wilhelm Bishop, April 13, 1777, for his account against the Continent for carriage, £8:5.

Paid John Meeth, April 13, 1777, for entertaining Sergeant Croos and the men he enlisted when under Captain Patterson. £1:3:6.

Soldiers Enlisted.

In the same book is found the following oath or affirmation administered to those enlisting in the Continental Army:

"I swear (or affirm) to be true to the United States of America, and to serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies, or opposers, whatsoever; and to observe and obey the orders of the Continental Congress,

and the orders of the Generals and officers set over me by them."

Following this oath appear the enlistments of John Bradley, born in Newton, Chester county, who enlisted on October 20, 1776, said Bradley having been brought up by Nathaniel Newland.

John Henderson, born in Chester county, by trade a miller, enlisted on Oct. 22, 1776.

James Reed, born in Ireland, enlisted on Oct. 22, 1776.

George Elbey, turner and joiner, enlisted on Oct. 28, 1776.

John Moore, of Chestnut Level, a farmer, enlisted on Oct. 27, 1776.

Digressing a moment, the writer would state that in Volume M, in the Recorder's office, at Lancaster, appear the following, which are of interest:

Michael Welsh, late a Sergeant in Captain Harman Stout's Company, Ross' Pennsylvania Regiment, was wounded "last winter" (1777) and a monthly pension of £1:5 was given him by Henry Dehuff, Philip Thomas and William Montgomery, examiners, under direction of John Hubley, on Jan. 3, 1778. In the State Department at Harrisburg there is a receipt of Michael Diffenderffer, dated in 1778, for money advanced to wives of soldiers in Col. George Ross' Pennsylvania Regiment. These two items in reference to Ross' Pennsylvania Regiment are the only ones in existence showing that there was such a regiment, there being no muster roll of it extant, and no mention of it in the State Archives. It was evidently composed of Lancaster county men. Michael Diffenderffer was Assistant Burgess of Lancaster at the time. He kept the Leopard Hotel, on East King street, and was the father of David Diffenderffer, an ensign in the Continental Army.

The State Archives do not contain any reference to a 10th Pennsylvania

Regiment, but the muster roll of it has been found and will shortly be published.

Patrick Lusk, a Sergeant in Major Murray's Regiment, was wounded at Princeton, and on January 9, 1778, was pensioned £8 monthly, under direction of John Hubley.

Jacob Hartman, of the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment, wounded at Brandywine, was pensioned June 29, 1778.

John Ensminger, wounded at Monmouth, was pensioned on Sept. 7, 1779, £10 monthly.

Francis Koontz, leg amputated, belonging to 3d Battalion of Pennsylvania, pensioned Nov. 24, 1778, under direction of John Hubley.

William Reidenbach, son of George and Catharine, born at Rudolstadt, Schwartzburg, Saxony, came to Lancaster in 1785, was naturalized, under direction of John Hubley, on March 13, 1789. He was one of the professors in Franklin College.

In Hubley's account book appears the following:

Admiral Schley's Ancestry.

"Received, Lancaster, March 29th, 1774, of Mr. Thomas Schley, £8, the above being sent me with others by Mr. Andrew Scott.

"PAUL ZANTZINGER."

"Received, Lancaster, April 8, 1776, of Mr. John Hubley, £3:16:8, it being cash sent me by Mr. Thomas Schley.

"PAUL ZANTZINGER."

It is known that a Thomas Schley was the ancestor of Admiral Schley, and that at one time he was located in Lancaster county, where he married Mary Shriver, a daughter of David Shriver and Mary Ferree. The latter was a daughter of Philip Ferree and Elizabeth Dubois, of Lancaster county Huguenot ancestry. Thomas Schley and wife removed to Maryland, where they laid out the town of Frederick in

1745. John Schley was a son of theirs, and he had a son, John Thomas, who was the father of Winfield Scott Schley.

The following also appears in the book:

"Received, Lancaster, March 16, 1781, of Miss Caty Connor, £60, being in full of Mrs. Connor's part towards finding a soldier to serve during the war, according to an Act of Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania."

Also, "Received, Lancaster, July 12, 1781, from Miss Connor, Twelve shillings and two pence for her share for furnishing a recruit for the Tenth Class." The first receipt is signed by William Wertz and the second by Conrad Swartz. An examination of the Colonial Records and State Archives shows that females who held property over and above a certain sum were required to pay a stated amount, for the purpose of furnishing a "substitute."

Included among Mr. Steinman's autographs is the following interesting document:

"Mr. John Hubley's compliments to Charles Thompson, Esq., and begs to have the order on copy of a Resolve of Congress for money to be advanced to ye Barracks' Master of Lancaster.

"If you will please to call on the President after Congress he will give you an order for £500 for the Barracks in Lancaster. "C. T."

"Tuesday afternoon."

"Received of John Hubley, Esq., Thirteen hundred and thirty-three dollars and one-third of a dollar, equal to Five Hundred Pounds, being so much money by him drawn out of the Continental Funds for the use of William Bausman, Esquire, Barracks' Master at Lancaster, on Mr. Bausman's letter to him, now paid in the Committee into my hands to be paid to Mr. Bausman for the use of the Barracks.

"WM. A. ATLEE,"
"Chairman of the Committee."

"Lancaster, 9th of September, 1776."

The barracks was located on Middle street, and the building stood until in 1886, when Shippen street was opened through it.

Among those who had charge of the militia at the Barracks during 1781 were John Hubley, John Messencope, Stophel Hager, Casper Shaffner and George Leonard, the latter being the great-great-grandfather of the writer.

A List of Waggoners.

Included among Mr. Steinman's papers is also a list of waggoners who removed the prisoners from "Mittle-Town." The following is the document:

A LIST OF THE WAGGONERS' NAMES returned by Mr. David Witmer and the number of bushels carried by them from Mittle-Town:

Emanuel Ferree, 45 bushels.
 George Mocalrooy, 51 bushels.
 William Hamilton, 54 bushels.
 Philip Caplin, 45 bushels.
 William Hamilton, 55 bushels.
 Philip Coplin, 51 bushels.
 Philip Ferree, 51 bushels.
 John Bergman, 56 bushels.
 Philip Coplin, 57 bushels.
 Barney Shreiner, 57 bushels.
 Philip Ferree, 52 bushels.
 Philip Coplin, 54 bushels.
 Jacob McTill, 50 bushels.
 William Shlaymentker, 50 bushels.
 Mathias Shlaymentker, 51 bushels.
 William Hamilton, 55 bushels.
 George Mocalrooy, 51 bushels.
 Barney Shreiner, 60 bushels.
 Philip Coplin, 58 bushels.
 Philip Ferree, 54 bushels.
 James McCaloy, 51 bushels.
 Barney Shreiner, 57 bushels.
 Emanuel Ferree, 48 bushels.
 Philip Coplin, 51 $\frac{1}{2}$ bushels.
 John Borbman, 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ bushels.
 Total amount, 1,318 bushels.

The "Mittle-Town" mentioned is not

the one located in Dauphin county, this State, but Middletown, N. J., where large quantities of provisions had been stored for the use of the army. An engagement took place there on April 27, 1779, and, by reference to the "Pennsylvania Archives," it is shown that these stores were removed from there about that time to the neighbor-



THE BARRACKS.

hood of Lancaster. They were removed under military escort. The above were evidently those who hauled the provisions.

During the time that the Capital of the United States was located in Lancaster, from September 27, 1777, to July —, 1778, the "Pennsylvania Packet" was printed here as the official organ of Congress, and a complete file of it is in the Congressional Library at Washington. Under date of issue of November 18, 1777, mention is made of "delivery of prisoners of war to Wm. Henry." November 19, 1777, "John Brown, a Tory, committed to jail." November 29, 1777, "On Saturday last died in this place (Lancaster) Joseph Parker, Esq., member of the General Assembly, and also of the Committee of Safety, of Philadelphia."

John Miller's Commissary Receipts.

The accounts of John Miller, as Commissary, are contained in a book 8x12 inches in size, and many of the receipts are signed in German, all of which have been translated for the writer, who has also abridged the receipts into condensed form.

John Miller was a resident of Lancaster for many years, and died in 1810, his will being probated on September 5, 1810, said document showing that he lived on North Queen street. He left a widow, by name Margaret, and the following children: Anna Maria, married to Philip Schaeffer; John, George, Susanna, married Philip Eberman; Elizabeth, married — Weidler; Catharine, married Henry Hibshman. His brother-in-law, Peter Gontter, was an executor of his will, which is on record in the Register's office, in Book K, Vol. 1, p. 293. He was a man of considerable means, and left his house and silver plate to his widow; also, his negro wench, Phillis, and her boy, Richard. His negro man, Michael, and negro girl, Jul, he directed to be sold. His daughter, as stated, was married to Philip Schaeffer, who moved to near Baltimore, where he died of yellow fever. One of their children was Emanuel Schaeffer, an Associate Judge of the Courts of Lancaster county, and who died in 1864. The descendants of John Miller are to be found to-day among the Schaeffer, Keller and McNeal families, the latter two of which are connected by marriage with the family of Sigismund W. Heinrich and Mrs. J. Fred. Sener. Mrs. James D. Landis is a great-great-granddaughter of John Miller.

John Miller was on March 14, 1781, appointed by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania a Commissioner of Purchase for the county of Lancaster, in the room of Christian Wirtz, suspended. Wirtz had been suspended for asking a larger sum in

State money than in specie for an article he had to sell, and for acting imprudently in various ways while Commissioner of Purchase.

On October 17, 1785, John Miller was appointed Sheriff of Lancaster county, and John Offner was appointed Coronner by the Council, the former's sureties being Adam Reigart and Jacob Weaver.

On October 15, 1787, both men were reappointed to the offices filled by them. Miller and Paul Zontzinger were both candidates, but Miller received the highest vote.

The account of John Miller, as Commissioner of Purchases, herewith follows:

In order to save repetition it will be understood that these dates were in 1781.

March 29, paid Daniel Habbecker £3 for ten hundred pounds of hay for public use.

March 29, paid Michael Wittmer £4:13:6 for 1,800 pounds of hay, for same use.

March 30, paid James Kain 15s. for labor for public use, and on the same date paid John Pfluger £2:10:0 for hauling for the public.

March 31, paid P. Alexander Berryhill £13:10:0 for 1½ tons of hay.

March 31, paid £35:9:3½ to Ulrich Lamparter for 879 pounds of beef.

March 31, paid John Frantz 4s. for 29 bushels of rye straw.

April 5, paid George Eichelberger £3:10:0 for ten hundred pounds of hay.

April 3, David Brubaker £1:14:0 for 112 bushels of rye straw.

April 4, paid John Cremer £18:7:6 for 461 pounds of beef.

April 5, paid Christian Hershey £5:5:0 for one ton of hay.

April 6, paid Christian Staman £24:15:0 for 550 pounds of beef.

April 6, paid Michael Wither £16 for two tons of hay.

April 7, paid George Yentz £32:10:9 for 783 pounds of beef.

April 7, paid Phillip Shumacker £4:4:0 for 1,200 pounds of hay.

April 7, paid Conrad Ferree £34:16:0 for 860 pounds of beef.

April 8, paid Benjamin Bowman £3:7:0 for 150 pounds of hay, 2 bushels of corn, 36 pounds of beef and 36 pounds of flour.

April 9, paid Jacob Hopburger £10:10:0 for 4,200 pounds of hay.

April 10, paid Jacob Miller £22 for 480 pounds of beef.

April 14, paid Philip Acre £8 for one ton of hay.

April 23, paid Jonathan Waltz £39:17:0½ for 437 pounds of beef and 152 pounds of mutton.

April 23, paid Conrad Ferree £22:4 for 440 pounds of beef.

April 23, paid Fritz Yeager £106:10:0 for 2,279 pounds of beef.

April 23, paid Ulrich Lamparter £188 for 3,760 pounds of beef.

April 23, paid Mrs. Susanna Bether £8:7:6 for 33½ bushels of corn.

April 24, paid Rudy Herr, £20 for 400 pounds of beef "for use of State of Pennsylvania."

April 24, paid Henrich Neff, £26:14:6, for 483 pounds of beef "for use of Commissary store."

April 27, paid John Leman, £8, for one ton of hay.

April 27, paid Jacob Reigart, £157:15:6, for 3,135½ pounds of beef "for use of the Post of Lancaster."

April 28, paid John Hess, £8, for one ton of hay for same use, and April 30 paid Ludwig Stoltz, £13, for two tons of hay for same.

April 30, paid George Winower, £1:10, for 30 pounds of mutton "for use of the army."

May 7, paid Ulrich Lamparter, £61:3, for 1,229 pounds of mutton.

May 7, paid Conrad Ferree, £18:14:4½, for 312 pounds of beef; John Pfluger, £30, for hauling during

April; William Barton, £14:10:4 $\frac{3}{4}$, for 264 pounds of mutton; John Jordon, £17:4:6, for 264 pounds of pork, and John Blattenberger, £18:15, for services in purchasing and procuring hay, grain, etc., "for use of the Continental Army."

May 8, paid John Heinrich Kommer, £5, for hay and corn; Andreas Anton Lutz, £38:12, for 388 pounds of mutton and 320 of pork; Abraham Reist, £80, for four head of cattle.

May 9, paid Jacob Neff, £16:10, for one ton of hay; Jacob Dieller, £38:6:9, for 440 pounds of beef and 216 pounds of mutton; Johannes Rithoeffer, £, for 100 bushels of straw; George Yentz, £31:4:6, for 521 pounds of beef.

May 10, paid James Kelly, £87:23 $\frac{3}{4}$, for 4,438 pounds of flour in casks, and same date paid the same £8, for 21 barrels of flour "delivered to the magazine;" Christoph Reigart, £39:13:2, for 600 pounds beef and mutton; Christian Hershey, £18:4:9, for 304 pounds of beef; George Moll, £7:10, for 3,150 pounds of hay.

May 12, paid Ulrich Lamparter, £26:0:6, for 384 pounds of mutton and killing two head of cattle.

May 14, paid John Kuntz, £3:3, for 55 pounds of mutton; Conrad Ferree, £34:5:1, for 571 pounds of beef and mutton.

May 16, paid Robert Beard, £49:10, for hauling hay for thirty-three days; Michael Wither, £8, for 1,900 pounds of hay; Fritz Yeager, £470:9, for 6,007 pounds of beef and mutton; Fritz Yeager, £135:2:1, for 2,079 pounds of beef and mutton.

May 17, paid Melchor Brenniman, £6:10:0, for 1,700 pounds of hay; John Pfluger, £12, for 3,750 pounds of hay.

May 18, paid Matthias Dehuff, £1:17:6, for 50 bundles of rye straw.

May 21, 1781, paid Johannes Wertz, 5s., for 12 bundles of straw; Jacob Reigart, £34:5:10, for 302 pounds of mutton and 273 pounds of beef "for

use of the American Army;" Jacob Dieller, £46:8:10, for 724 pounds of beef; George Yentz, £88:17:8, for 16 head of sheep and 148 pounds of mutton.

May 22, paid Conrad Ferree, £28:2:2, for 479 pounds of mutton.

May 23, paid Fritz Yeager, £101:9:2, for 1,561 pounds of beef and mutton; George Eichholtz, £5:11:7, for 93 pounds of mutton; Conrad Ferree, £14:11:7, for 243 pounds of mutton.

May 24, paid Christian Schwartz, £8:14, for 145 pounds of mutton; Jacob Billstone, £10:6, for 3,700 pounds of hay.

May 26, paid George Yentz, £1:1:3, for "pasturing 51 sheep five days at one penny per day per head."

May 28, paid David Ferree, £4:10, for 1,500 pounds of hay; Jacob Charles, £7:6:0, for 2,300 pounds of hay.

May 30, paid Jacob Mathiot, £71:4:6½, for 1,186 pounds of mutton; Judith Welty, £96, for 18 head of sheep "delivered alive to Brig. Gen. Wayne," and 100 pounds of beef.

May 31, paid Abraham Hostetter, £4:10, for 1,700 pounds of hay; Jacob Weitzel, £2:14:1, for 46½ pounds of salt beef.

June 1, paid Jacob Howeson, £3:2:0, for one quarter of hay, 3½ bushels of corn and ½ bushel of oats.

June 2, paid Jacob Reigart, £71:12:6, for 976 pounds of beef and 245 pounds of mutton.

June 4, paid Conrad Ferree, £34:6:0, for 494 pounds of beef.

June 5, paid Ulrich Lamparter, £9:12:0, for 140 pounds of mutton.

June 8, paid George Eichholtz, £18:11:8, for 241 pounds of beef and 69 pounds of mutton.

June 8, paid Jacob Wilhelm, £3:3:6, for 63 pounds of mutton; David Musselman, £6:10:0, for one ton of hay.

June 8, paid David Musselman £6:10:0 for one ton of hay.

June 9, paid Conrad Ferree

£31:17:8½ for 548 pounds of mutton.

June 11, paid Alexander Berryhill £23 for 400 bundles of straw, at 50c. a bundle.

June 13, paid Wilhelm Lehman £3:10:11 for 55 pounds of mutton.

June 25, paid Samuel Hess £6 for one ton of hay.

June 27, paid Anthony Waltz £5 for 90 pounds of mutton.

June 29, paid Jacob Reigart £7:16:1¼ in gold for 450 pounds of beef and 21 pounds of mutton.

June 30, paid George Trissler 14s.7 for 50 pounds of beef.

June 30, paid Jacob Howeson £3:3:9 for 425 pounds of hay and 9 bushels of oats.

June 30, paid Conrad Ferree £7:9:0 for 350 pounds of beef and 111 pounds of mutton.

June 30, paid Fritz Yeager £11:15:4½ for 495 pounds of mutton and 273 pounds of beef.

June 30, paid Ulrich Lamparter £4: 4:3½ for 289 pounds of mutton.

June 30, paid Andreas Anton Lutz £3:4:7½ for 193 pounds of mutton.

June 30, paid Jacob Mathiot £9:6:8 for 376 pounds of mutton and 231 pounds of beef.

June 30, paid Abraham Dehuff £1:10:8 for 92 pounds of beef.

June 30, paid Jacob Reigart £7:19:8 for 429 pounds of beef.

June 30, paid Christoph Reigart £7:0:1½ for 311 pounds of mutton and 81 pounds of beef.

June 30, paid William Bandon 4s.:3½ for 15 pounds of mutton.

June 30, paid Jacob Weitzel £1 for 60 pounds of beef. Jacob Weitzel was the third child of Paul and Charlotte Weitzel, and was born in Lancaster in 1754. He entered the army early in the beginning of the struggle, and served as ensign and lieutenant. He was one of the two men from Lancaster county who helped to found the "Cincinnati" in 1783, John Doyle being

the other member. The original certificate of Lieutenant Weitzel is owned by W. A. Heitshue, of this city, who is a collateral descendant. He died, unmarried, July 15, 1797, leaving all his property, real and personal, to his brother, George Weitzel, who was great-grandfather to George W. Fry, of this city.

July 5, paid Ulrich Lamparter £6:0:9 for 414 pounds of mutton.

July 5, paid William Laman £1:0:1 $\frac{1}{4}$ for 69 pounds of mutton.

July 6, paid George Yentz £6:3:3 $\frac{1}{4}$ for 268 pounds of beef and 117 pounds of mutton.

July 6, paid Martin Shuey 10s. for 125 pounds of hay.

July 7, paid Fritz Yeager £26:6:1 for 1,356 pounds of beef and 254 pounds of mutton.

July 10, paid William Bandon 17s.:4 for 52 pounds of beef.

July 10, paid Hugh Cunningham £6:6:4 for 379 pounds of beef.

July 12, paid George Marquart £3:16:9 for 212 pounds of beef and 21 pounds of mutton.

July 12, paid William Bausman £118:6:0 for 225 pounds of mutton and 983 pounds of beef.

July 13, paid Casper Michenfelder £11:12:6 in State money and £5:12:6 in specie for labor, from May 1 to June 30, in behalf of the army.

July 13, paid John Bausman £4:14:6 for riding "express."

July 13, paid Peter Gonter £5:12:6 for 338 pounds of beef.

July 14, paid John Gloninger £103:9:4 for 3,321 pounds of beef, 18 tons and one-quarter tons of hay, 766 bundles of rye straw, and driving three head of cattle.

July 17, paid Jacob Reigart £10:12:4 $\frac{1}{2}$ for 554 pounds of beef and 95 pounds of mutton.

July 18, paid George Eicholtz £9:19:8 for 599 pounds of beef.

July 20, paid James Kain £10:17:6 for 58 days' service.

July 20, paid Ulrich Lamparter £9:8:9 for 435 pounds of beef and 153 pounds of mutton.

July 20, paid Fritz Yeager £41:4:3 for 2,243 pounds of beef and 244 pounds of mutton.

July 23, paid George Heget Shwiley £10:16:11 for 563 pounds of mutton.

July 23, paid Andreas Anton Lutz £4:16:8 for 290 pounds of beef.

July 23, paid George Yentz £13:4:0½ for 723 pounds of beef and 79 pounds of mutton.

July 23, paid Adam Reigart £20:9:7½ for 150 pounds of beef and 1,233 pounds of mutton.

July 23, paid Peter Bachman £2:5:0 for one ton of hay.

July 24, paid Casper Michenfelder £3:15:0 for twenty days' labor.

July 24, paid Henry Hower 17s.:6 for 60 pounds of mutton.

July 24, Adam Hubley, Lieutenant, Lancaster county, certified the following to be true and correct, and it was paid: "July 9, Alexander Berryhill, £5:14:03, for 274½ pounds of beef; £2:5:0, for 9 bushels of wheat; £2:5:0, for 12 pounds of mutton; 6s.:4, for 38 pounds of bread; 7s.:6, for manufacturing 9 bushels of wheat; 3s.:9, for hire of labourers."

July 25, Mathias Slough, £29:1:9½ for 19 barrels of flour for public use.

July 25, paid Mathias Slough £112:17:6 for two head of cattle.

July 25, paid —— Barrett £4:1:2 for 100 pounds of flour, 100 pounds of beef and 13½ gallons of whisky for Continental Army.

July 25, paid Abraham Miller £4:18:8 for 296 pounds of beef.

July 25, paid John Kurtz £6:4:9½ for 104 pounds of mutton.

July 27, paid Christoph Reigart £10:4:4 for 613 pounds of beef.

July 27, paid James McClure £1:17:6 for 75 pounds of beef and 90 pounds of flour.

July 27, paid John Peister £4:11:4 for 274 pounds of beef.

July 27, paid Daniel Rudy £2:0:6 for 1,800 pounds of hay.

July 27, paid Jacob Kurtz £2:0:6 for 2,200 pounds of hay.

July 28, paid Daniel Rudy 5s.:1 for two bushels of oats and 40 pounds of hay.

July 28, paid J. Willcox £42:18:8 for 2,513 pounds of beef and 72 pounds of mutton.

July 27, paid Jacob Mathiot £9 for three tons of hay.

July 27, paid Esther Miller £3 for one ton of hay.

July 28, paid Jacob Hostetter 17s.:6 for 60 pounds of mutton.

July 30, paid John Blattenberg £35:0:6 specie and £15:10:3 State money, for wages and expenses from May 1 to July 20.

July 30, paid Christian Herr £1:7:7½ for 51 pounds of bacon.

July 31, paid Jacob Eshleman £5:14:4 for 343 pounds of beef.

July 31, paid John Neidich £1:0:0½ for 37 pounds of bacon.

Aug. 1, paid Jacob Mayer £5:15:0 for 345 pounds of beef.

Aug. 3, paid Benj. Landis £8:10:10 for 448 pounds of beef and 5¾ bushels of oats.

Aug. 3, paid Christian Ferree 18s.:5 for 34 pounds of bacon.

Aug. 3, paid John Snaebey 17s.:4 for 32 pounds of bacon.

Aug. 5, paid Abraham Newcomer 10s.10 for 20 pounds of bacon.

Aug. 8, paid Abraham Kendrick £1:8:8½ for 53 pounds of bacon.

Aug. 8, paid John Kilheffer £7:16:4 for 446 pounds of beef.

Aug. 8, paid George Hambrecht £12:12:0 for two tons of hay.

Aug. 8, paid Jacob Diller £5:0:8 for 302 pounds of beef.

Aug. 8, paid Gerhard Buller £2:8:8 for 100 pounds of beef and 46 pounds of mutton.

Aug. 8, paid Johann Kreider 8s.:8 for 16 pounds of bacon.

Aug. 8, paid George Marquart £19:12:0 for 1,056 pounds of mutton and 4 head of sheep.

Aug. 8, paid J. Wykopf £1:11:0 for 93 pounds of beef.

Aug. 9, paid Johannes Kreider £6:14:4 for 403 pounds of beef.

Aug. 9, paid Casper Michenfelder £27:12:8 for rendering 808 pounds of tallow; and for 138 days' service in cutting up and salting, packing and repacking pork and beef.

Aug. 9, paid Jacob Yeiser, £16:10, for thirty gallons of brandy for Continental Army. About this time there must have been some sickness among the soldiers, and the brick storehouse on the commons was to be converted into quarters for the sick and the sick removed to it at once. The Continental stables in the meantime were to be used as a barracks for such troops as might not be sick. The thanks of the inhabitants were also extended to General Hazen and the troops under him.

Aug. 9, paid Charles Hamilton, £29:17, for 30 bushels of oats; 34½ bushels of buckwheat; one ton of hay; 300 bundles of straw.

Aug. 9, paid John Gonter, £15:39, specie, £15:1:44, State money, for services from April 1 to July 20.

Aug. 10, paid Peter Schwar, 13s.:6, for 600 pounds of hay.

Aug. 10, paid Abraham Krey, £2, for 1,800 pounds of hay.

Aug. 12, paid Benj. Landis, £5:14:0, for 1,800 pounds of hay.

Aug. 12, paid Henry Landis, £2:9:6, for 1 ton and 200 pounds of hay.

Aug. 13, paid Benj. Hershey, £2:0:6, for 1,800 pounds of hay.

Aug. 15, paid Benedict Hoffman, £3, for one ton of hay.

Aug. 15, paid Frederick Rathfong, 14s.:9, for 115 bundles of rye straw.

Aug. 15, paid John Huber, £4:10:0, for two tons of hay.

Poem—A Legend of the Cloister	-	-	-	-	-	87
MARY N. ROBINSON.						
Minutes of December Meeting	-	-	-	-	-	89
Letters of Mennonite Clergymen	-	-	-	-	-	41
F. R. D.						
Peter Miller and Michael Witman	-	-	-	-	-	46
HIRAM ERB STEINMETZ.						
Reports of Officers :						
Secretary's Report	-	-	-	-	-	50
Librarian's Report	-	-	-	-	-	53
Treasurer's Report	-	-	-	-	-	54
Minutes of January Meeting	-	-	-	-	-	56
Officers for 1902	-	-	-	-	-	56

A Vision of the Cloister.

On the old stone bridge I loiter, where
Cocalico's clear water
Past the mill and 'neath the willows
ripples o'er its pebbly bed,
All around me birds are singing, and
their melody is ringing
Like a voice from bygone ages, like a
message from the dead.

2

So my wand'ring fancies guide me, little
caring what betide me,
Till I pause at last to rest me, all alone
upon the stile;
And the trees that rustled 'round me,
and the mountain wind that found me,
Bade me linger there, and silently I
sat me down awhile.

3.

In the West the sunset golden shone in
splendor never oiden,
Then it faded, and thro' rose and gray
the stars came out at last;
And above the cloister hoary a young
moon hung in glory,
As it shone in bygone ages—as it shone
there in the past.

4.

Back my truant fancy wandered, and on
days of old I pondered,
Till the veil of Time was rent apart,
and something spake to me!
Nay, me thought, 'tis only seeming, and
my soul is only dreaming,
As a vision of the Cloister reveals itself
to me.

5.

One by one I saw the Brothers, only
they and none of others,
Gather slowly and sedately in the Saal
of praise and prayer;
Not one word was said nor spoken, as
in silence all unbroken
Came they from their quiet cells, 'till
all the Brotherhood stood there.

6.

One among them pale and fasting, heavy
eyelids downward casting,
Stood amid the white cowld brothers
there in sadness and in gloom,
Till in solemn quiet moving, with mien
stern and all reprobri,
Brother Friedsam slow stepped forward
to pronounce a victim's doom.

7.

"Speak thou, ere thou goest hither; goest,
none save thou knowst whither,
From thy cloister-home forever at the
earliest hour of morn!
Speak thou once without repression, make
thou here a full confession,
O, thou sinful one and erring! thou
who best had ne'er been born."

8.

"Brothers, ye all deem me sinning, and
I may not hope for winning
Faith or change in any judgment ye
may choose to pass on me!
Vain it were to plead contrition—useless
would be my petition!
Yet my heart is pure within me, and
my soul from fault is free!"

9.

"Lo! the night on which ye sought me,
here my longing spirit brought me,
And through all the long night watches
kneit I here in fervent prayer.
For these sacred walls so holy, could they
speak, would tell how lowly
And how humbly kneit I here alone,
with not one thought of care."

10.

"Nay! the planks of this old flooring,
where so oft ye knelt adoring,
Might show you, if they only could, the
marks of my bare feet!
As I sought these holy places, but my
footsteps left no traces;
Yet, oh, brothers! bless me once more
ere I go, my doom to meet!"

11.

Down before them dropped he, kneeling;
hands upraised in strong appealing;
Eyes uplifted to the poplar beams
above them broadly spread—
Then the white-garbed crowd up-rising,
saw a wonder all surprising,
Footprints unto them appearing on that
ceiling overhead!

12.

Then a sound of sweetest singing, like
celestial voices ringing—
And a flash of light and lustre, as the
angels passed away!
But the brethren gazed in sadness at the
face serene in gladness,
Whence the spirit had departed and had
left them but the clay!

13.

Ah! such, methought, the story of the
Cloister gray and hoary,
Which the winds and waters whispered
as their magic o'er me fell—
For yon buildings sure are haunted by
strange memories enchanted,
And spirits surely linger 'round each
ancient wall and cell.

—Mary N. Robinson.

Minutes of the December Meeting.

Lancaster, Dec. 6, 1901.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met in regular monthly session this afternoon, in their room, in the Young Men's Christian Association building. In the absence of the President, Vice President Dr. Jos. H. Dubbs presided.

After the roll call of the officers and the reading of the minutes of the November meeting, the donations were announced, which consisted of various exchanges and a number of the large old-time copper cents in circulation fifty years ago, donated by Mrs. Mary N. Robinson. The thanks of the society were extended to the donor, and they were placed in the archives.

No paper was read, but a charming poem, founded on a legend of the old monkish cloister, at Ephrata, written by Mrs. Robinson, was read by S. M. Sener, Esq. The poem was called "A Vision of the Cloister," and gave fanciful poetic explanation of the footprints to be seen on the ceiling of one of the rooms in the ancient building. It was very well received, and led to an extended discussion concerning these same footprints, and the most plausible explanations accounting for the same.

Dr. Dubbs gave an extended account of the career of Conrad Beissel, the founder of this monastic brotherhood, not only while here in America, but prior to his coming. The legend concerning Sister Anastacia, Peter Miller's intercession with General Washington for the life of Michael Witman, and other bits of cloister story were also called up.

The donation of the copper cents was followed by a lengthy discussion on the copper and silver coinage of this country, and the extremely numerous variations in the same coin in the same year.

Dr. Dubbs, who has in preparation a history of old Franklin College, in this city, asked for historical facts to aid him. This brought to light the fact that during the present year a party, while in search of a legendary bell, happened to discover the one cast for Franklin College in 1827, a fact hitherto unknown or forgotten.

The attendance both of ladies and gentlemen was good. On motion, the society adjourned.

Letters of Mennonite Clergymen.

The following letters were read at the January meeting of the County Historical Society. They were written by two prominent Swiss Anabaptists at the request of the Dutch Anabaptist Commission of Inquiry, at Amsterdam, April 25, 1710.

They are not only valuable in themselves as being direct and unimpeachable evidence of the manner in which the people known as Mennonites were persecuted even in Switzerland, but also because with them were banished fifty-five men and women of the same faith, who came to Pennsylvania in 1717. As most of the names are familiar in Lancaster county to-day, it is quite probable they found their way here, and were among the early settlers in this county. It might prove a work of much interest if some one were to undertake the task of hunting up the records of these people, if such a thing is possible. The story would prove an interesting chapter in our local history.

F. R. D.

Benedict Brechbuhl's Account.*

On January 12th, 1709, the Government of Bern sent seven soldiers, with an usher, early in the morning to my house. It frightened us so that my wife and I tried to hide. I hid myself under a hay-stack. They searched my

*Benedict Brechbuhl, von Trachselwald, teacher and elder in Mannheim. He had been exiled previously from Bernese territory, and had gone to Germany. He returned to fetch his wife and children, when he was again taken prisoner and condemned to be transported to America. Eventually, he went out to Pennsylvania in 1717.

house all through. At last they came around to the hay and thrust their swords into it; they soon discovered me. Then I came out, and they seized me, and asked me my name, and if I was a preacher, which I willingly acknowledged. They then took me into my room, where two ushers gave me a smart blow on the ear; they bound my hands behind my back and took me out of my house. My children cried and wept so pitifully that a heart of stone, as the saying is, would have been melted. But the soldiers were very glad they had caught me. They took me thence to the town of Bern, with two other brothers, put us in prison, and that during the very long cold winter. There we lay bound. When we wanted to be warm, we had to pay dear for the wood. After six or seven days they brought me into another prison. There they chained me with iron chains. The government had given 100 thalers to the men who had caught me, which same money my people had to pay out of my own private means. After two days they brought me again to the tower, placed me in a small cell, and chained me with an iron chain. So I lay eighteen weeks long. Then they took me with all the other prisoners to the Spital. There we had to work carding wool from four o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening. They fed us on bread and water, but did not let us suffer in any other way. That lasted thirty-five weeks. For the last ten weeks the work was easier. The whole time of my imprisonment in Bern was one year, seven months and seven days. That was in the forty-fourth year of my age.

Melchior Zahler's Account.

In two years, 1708-9, the Bernese Government issued very stringent orders against the Anabaptists, or Mennonites, wherein it was forbidden

for any of their subjects, under penalty of losing their property and citizenship, to harbour or conceal any of us. It was ordered that immediate notice should be given to the minister, if a Mennonite were in the district. Rewards were offered of from 50 to 100 Reichsthalers, and all citizens were forced to swear an oath that they would deliver us up to the authorities. One evening, between 10 and 11, I wanted to fetch some bread and some wine for my sick wife; I was met on the way and asked if I was not an Anabaptist. I did not deny it, so they said they must be true to their oath, as they did not wish to perjure themselves on my account; otherwise they would not have betrayed me. They took me away, but I managed that time to escape, thanks to the help of a good friend.

Later on the Government ordered hostages to be sent from Bern to all villages where Anabaptists were supposed to be. They were kept in the town, at the expense of the several communities. This was in order that we should be hated by the landspeople; on this account many of us went to Alsace, to Mompeigard and to Neuenburg, where they lived in great misery, because everything had been taken from them.

About this time I went to Neuenburg. My brother-in-law and a very dear friend of mine sent to me to say I was to come back home. I succeeded in so doing, and went to this friend, who shewed me all friendship and love, and who wanted to give me back my two children, so that I could now take charge of them. I wanted to visit my brother and sister, and my other children, and, while I was there, my friend went to the minister and betrayed me, and told everything; when and how I came back. Everything he told to the minister. That same evening they

sent three soldiers, who took me prisoner, bound me, and took me to the vicar, who questioned me about my faith, about infant baptism, about taking oaths, about the necessity of bearing arms to defend one's country, about government, etc. I was taken in chains to Bern on February 27th, 1710. Previously, in 1706, I had been three weeks in prison and now in Bern I was shut up and chained by my right hand, and fed on bread and water. All this time I was in much trouble and sorrow, because I had been so miserably betrayed by my so-called friend, and then they had taken away my five children and my own property. Besides my children, they had taken 15,000 gulden from me, had exiled me from my native land, and condemned me to be transported to America, like a slave, with the following people, without giving me a penny for the journey: Hans Burki, Christian Sattler, Isaac Baumgartner, Benedict Brechbuhl, Jacob, Ulrich and Peter Zalfanger, Kaspar Bieri, Christian Fankhauser, Christen Berger, from Lauperswyl; Daniel Moser, from Langnau; Ulrich Schmied, from Langnau; Nicholas Blaesi, from Lauperswyl; Peter Hofer, Christian Krahenbuhl, Samuel Reber, Ulrich Ellenthaler, Durs Rohrer, Rudolf Stettler, Michael Aeschlimann, Nicolas Baltzer, Melchoir Zahler, from Fentigen; Mathys Krahenbuhl, Benedict Muster, Benedict Maurer, from Diesbach; Hans Berain, Nicolas Moser, Benedict Nussbaum, Peter Wuthrich, from Trub; Nicolas Luthi, from Lauperswyl; Peter Kohler, Heinrich Wenger, Christian Steiner, Hans Jacob, Jacob Schwander, Peter Thoneu, from Grentigen; Hans Gasser, Hans Stubet, Hans Rupp, from Ligriswyl; Hans Murdt, Nicolas Hager, Ulrich Fahrni, Hans Ramseier, Yost Kopfier, Hans Engel, Katharina Eberseold, Elisabeth Gerber, Elisabeth Gerber, from

Lignan; Elisabeth Krieg, Elisabeth Steiner, Anna Schenk, Barbara Fahrni, Margaret Engel, Margaret Aeschlimann, Catharine Ellenberger, Magdalena Eichenberger, Barbara Frutiger.

The above-named men and women had to suffer many persecutions and hardships on account of their religion. After they had been in prison for many months, they were put on board some boats at Bern and shipped down the Aar and the Rhine to Nimwegen, where they were freed by the intermission of the States General and their Mennonite friends in Holland. A few years later many of them went to Pennsylvania.

FANNY CARPENTER.

The above information was translated from Muller's "Bernese Anabaptists."

Peter Miller---Michael Witman.

A Revolutionary Episode.

Peter Miller was a minister in the German Reformed Church in his early life. "He was born in the district of Sautern, in the Palatinate (Chur-Pfalz) in 1709. He came to America as a minister of this church in 1730." He preached at various points. He served as pastor of Bethany Reformed Church, near Ephrata, and doubtless others in this section.

He withdrew from the German Reformed Church and joined the Seven Day Baptists at Ephrata. He moved to their settlement and became their pastor. He resided there during the American Revolutionary War.

He was a man who had an extensive acquaintance and was widely known. He enjoyed the personal acquaintance of General Washington, who visited Ephrata and the Cloister during the war.

Peter Miller was a talented and highly-educated man. At the request of Thomas Jefferson he translated the Declaration of Independence into seven foreign languages, and helped in this way to explain to the world the reason for the American Revolution.

Michael Witman also resided at Ephrata. He was a deacon in the German Reformed Church; the withdrawal of Peter Miller from the church greatly incensed Witman, who now secured an unenviable notoriety for his abuse of Miller and the Seven Day Baptists; on one occasion he struck Miller in the face, and on another occasion he spit in his face. Miller endured it all with Christian fortitude. He never spoke a cross word to or against Witman for his shameful conduct.



Witman kept one of the two hotels which were then in Ephrata, about a mile from the Cloister or Seven Day Baptist settlement. It was located on the site where the Eagle Hotel, in Ephrata borough, now stands. The other was the house lately purchased by Mr. T. A. Willson, and remodeled by him located on West Main street.

There were possibly ten houses in the present limits of Ephrata borough at that time. On a winter evening two men came to the hotel of Witman for supper and shelter for the night. He was ignorant of the character of his guests, but was outspoken in his views in regard to the war, and spoke freely in favor of the British. "He was a Tory. He had been to Gen. Howard and offered his services." However, these two men were American spys. Witman entered the dining room, where the men were partaking of their evening meal. He sat on the window sill. He began to express his opinion. After proceeding at some length the men sprang up and said we have to arrest you for treason to the American cause, or words to that effect. Witman escaped through the window, and, most singular, indeed, fled to the Seven Day Baptist settlement and hid in the Brothers' House, upstairs, behind a chimney, and remained there until the next night. This house was not locked, but kept open day and night, a fact possibly known to Witman. He then escaped to Zion's Hill, where he remained until famished from cold and hunger, he surrendered. He was taken to General Washington. He was tried for treason, found guilty and sentenced to be hung.

As before stated, Peter Miller was personally acquainted with General Washington. Whether he was in communication with General Washington in reference to this matter is not known. However, after the death sentence was passed, Peter Miller arose

early in the morning, took his cane and set out on foot, through the snow, to visit General Washington at Valley Forge, to intercede for the life of Witman.

He was told that his prayer for his friend could not be granted. "My friend!" exclaimed Miller. "I have not a worse enemy living than that man."

"What!" rejoined Washington. "You have walked sixty miles to save the life of your enemy? That, in my judgment, puts the matter in a different light. I will grant you his pardon."

"The pardon was written, signed by General Washington and handed to Miller, who at once set out for West Chester, fifteen miles distant, where the execution was to take place on the afternoon of the same day."

He arrived just as Witman was being carried to the scaffold, who, seeing Miller in the crowd, remarked: "There is old Peter Miller. He has walked all the way from Ephrata to have his revenge gratified to-day seeing me hung."

These words were scarcely spoken, when Miller waved the pardon and commanded them to halt.

We will not picture the scene that followed. It is said they embraced each other. They walked home to Ephrata together and remained firm friends.

We will not attempt to describe the scene, tender, loving, pathetic, when Witman entered the home and he was restored to his family. His life was spared, but his property was confiscated and sold March 15, 1780, to Michael Diffenderfer, four tracts. The circumstances and environments were such that Witman did not remain long at Ephrata, but emigrated with his family somewhere to the West, where is not known.

Thus the curtain drops as to Witman, but Miller's noble act lives enshrined in many of the hearts and minds of the people of Ephrata, yea, wherever the narrative is read, being published in different works.

Peter Miller died September 25, 1796, aged eighty-six years and nine months, and is buried at Ephrata."

For some of the facts the writer is indebted to Mrs. Mary Hahn, of Ephrata, who is four-score years of age. She is a sister of Rev. Timothy Konigmacher, who is four-score and ten, who was for many years pastor at the Cloister, now a resident of Philadelphia.

The hotel property of Michael Witman was sold by Michael Diffenderfer March 15, 1787. It was purchased by Col. John Wright, who was a great-great-grandfather of the writer of this sketch. It remained in the family almost a hundred years. One of the daughters, Polly Wright, married John Gross, and inherited the property from her father. In 1808 the old building was torn down and a new one erected on the same site. Upon the death of her husband she sold the property to her son, John W. Gross, who disposed of it to his brother, Martin Gross, who died in 1877.

Andrew M. Baker became the owner by purchase in 1879, and since enlarged it.

HIRAM ERB STEINMETZ.

Reports of Officers.

Report of the Secretary.

January 8, 1902.

To the Officers and Members of the
Lancaster County Historical Society.

I herewith present to you the annual report required of the Secretary by the constitution of our Society. During the past year the usual number of meetings were held and the customary business of the Society transacted. Seven pamphlets containing original papers were read before the Society, and the monthly minutes and other proceedings were printed and published. These show no falling off either in interest or merit. During the year eleven papers of length were read, besides a number of minor ones; the whole making a volume of nearly two hundred pages. This is certainly a very creditable showing, and I know of no sister Society in our neighboring counties who has done more. It is, furthermore, evidence that there is an abundance of historical material still lying around us, only waiting the hand of the industrious searcher to be garnered and made available for public uses. It has sometimes seemed to me that, with our large and intelligent membership, we ought to be able to do still more, but, as our members are not persons of leisure, perhaps quite as much has been done as was to be expected.

We have not shown that growth in membership we should have done. We have passed the hundred mark, it is true, but what are a hundred members in such an organization out of a population of more than 150,000! We, however, expect to do better during the

current year. A circular has been prepared and printed by direction of the Society and is now ready to be sent out to such intelligent men and women who it is believed will feel sufficient direct interest in those matters for which our Society stands to join our ranks. It is really a matter of surprise that our members are not counted by hundreds, when we consider the intelligence of this community. Not one man or woman in a hundred will for a moment question the importance or utility of the work in which we are engaged, and yet they do not come to us nor contribute the small sum demanded by membership in our Society. Yet, in spite of this seeming apathy, for I believe it is seeming only, perhaps we should congratulate ourselves that we have been as successful as our records show.

We may congratulate ourselves also on having secured comfortable and, as I hope, permanent quarters. With a large and handsome room in which to meet and keep our collections, there seems nothing further to be desired in this direction for the present.

During the year a valuable addition to our library was made through the generous liberality of Vice President Evans. His example, I hope, will not be lost, either on our members or on the community at large. So long as we were uncertain of our future such donations could hardly have been expected, but, now that a brighter prospect spreads out before us, doubtless our collections will grow more rapidly.

One of the most important steps taken by your Society during the year was your instruction to the Executive Committee to take steps to have the Society chartered. This was done, and on the 17th day of June the Court of the county, under its official seal, issued the desired decree. It is hoped



that under this charter the Society may become possessed of more ample means and its sphere of general usefulness be greatly enlarged and extended.

Dr. Houston, our Treasurer, and myself on last Monday went before the County Commissioners and presented the Society's claims to become beneficiaries under the law of last May, which permits those county officials to award the sum of \$200 annually to one Historical Society in each county in the Commonwealth that has complied with certain conditions and stipulations laid down in the act. We were cordially received, granted a full hearing and were told the value of our work was fully recognized, and that our request would be duly considered. The fine volume of our "Proceedings and Papers" was placed before them for their inspection, and a sworn affidavit by the Secretary, covering our case and our request, left with the Commissioners. At this writing I have not yet been advised of the action of the Commissioners, but I have every reason to believe that our request will receive the recognition we desire and which, I am sure, we deserve.

Our accumulation of back numbers of our publications continues. We have usually had two hundred of each pamphlet printed. We have complete sets of them all except volumes two and three. Of volume one we have twenty complete sets. Of four and five we have about as many more. It were well if we could dispose of some of these, but none have been called for in a long time. Still, as they are likely to grow in value with the years, we may yet get some money out of them.

Reviewing our work as a whole during the year we have abundant cause for congratulation. We have done a very fair measure of work, and have done it well. The Society has no debts

save of small amount, and our Treasurer will tell you there is enough money in the treasury to pay them. There is, therefore, everything to encourage us and little to discourage. It is true, we would like to see a larger attendance at our meetings, but I need hardly tell you that in this particular we are not alone; it is the experience of all our sister Societies in the State, with one or two exceptions. All this, however, should only determine us to attend regularly ourselves and redouble our efforts to bring others here. Having done so well in the past, let us all resolve to do still better in the future.

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER,
Secretary.

Librarian's Report for 1901.

To the Officers and Members of the Lancaster County Historical Society:

Your Librarian would respectfully report that during the year 1901 there were added to the catalogue of the Society's museum and library 159 entries, making the total number to date 609. The most important donations to the library were from Samuel Evans, Esq., and included 53 bound volumes of newspapers, 25 volumes of a miscellaneous historical character, 25 volumes of the Pamphlet Laws of Pennsylvania, and a large number of miscellaneous pamphlets and odd numbers of various historical magazines. Donations were also received from Amos Rutter, James Law, F. R. Diffenderfer, S. M. Sener and Mrs. Robinson.

To the museum were added another key to the lock of the old jail and a section of the first Atlantic cable. The more important books, etc., are contained in the Society's oak book-case, while the bulkier volumes of newspapers, etc., are contained in a closet

and chest in the storage room, on the fourth floor. A few of the framed pieces, including the Society's charter, are displayed on the walls of our meeting room. During the year your Librarian has had bound 14 volumes of the exchange magazines of the Society. Among our exchanges are the "F. and M. Obituary Record," the "Pennsylvania Historical Society's Magazine," the "Pennsylvania German Magazine," the American Philosophical Society, the Catholic Historical Society, the Lebanon, Berks and Dauphin County Historical Societies and the Americana Germanica.

The Society also owns 35 cuts or engravings, some of which were donated and others purchased, to illustrate its historical pamphlets.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

S. M. SENER,

Jan. 3, 1902. Librarian.

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Treasurer's Report.

Lancaster City, Penna.,

January 3d, 1902.

To the Officers and Members of the Lancaster County Historical Society:

As Treasurer of said organization, I, in compliance with the constitution and by-laws of the above Society, present the following report for the year ending January 1st, 1902:

DR.

To initiation fees and assessed dues	\$116 00
Amount received from former Treasurer	82 98
Total	\$198 98

(55)

CR.

By donation to Y. M. C. A. (for the use of room).....	\$ 15.00
Paid for printing, postage, sta- tionery, cartage, book-case, binding books, etc., as per vouchers	131 23
Charter expenses.....	21 00

\$167 25

January 1st, 1902, postage on circulars	\$ 1 00
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Total \$168 25

Balance in Treasurer's hands. \$ 30 73

There are some unpaid claims.

Respectfully submitted,

J. W. HOUSTON,
Treasurer.

Minutes of January, 1902, Meeting.

January 3d, 1902.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon, President Steinman in the chair.

After roll call, the minutes of the previous meeting were read, and, after a slight correction, adopted.

Walter A. Heinrich, Miss Emma Bolenius and Rev. Walter R. Breed were elected to membership.

The additions to the library consisted principally of exchanges. Dr. Houston presented an old book, treating of family herb medicines, and printed in this city.

The annual reports of the Secretary, Librarian and Treasurer were read, which will be found in full elsewhere.

The annual election for officers of the Society to serve during the current year being the next business in order, such election was gone into and resulted as follows:

President, George Steinman.

Vice Presidents, Rev. Dr. Jos. H. Dubbs and Samuel Evans.

Secretary, F. R. Diffenderffer.

Treasurer, Dr. J. W. Houston.

Librarian, S. M. Sener.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark.

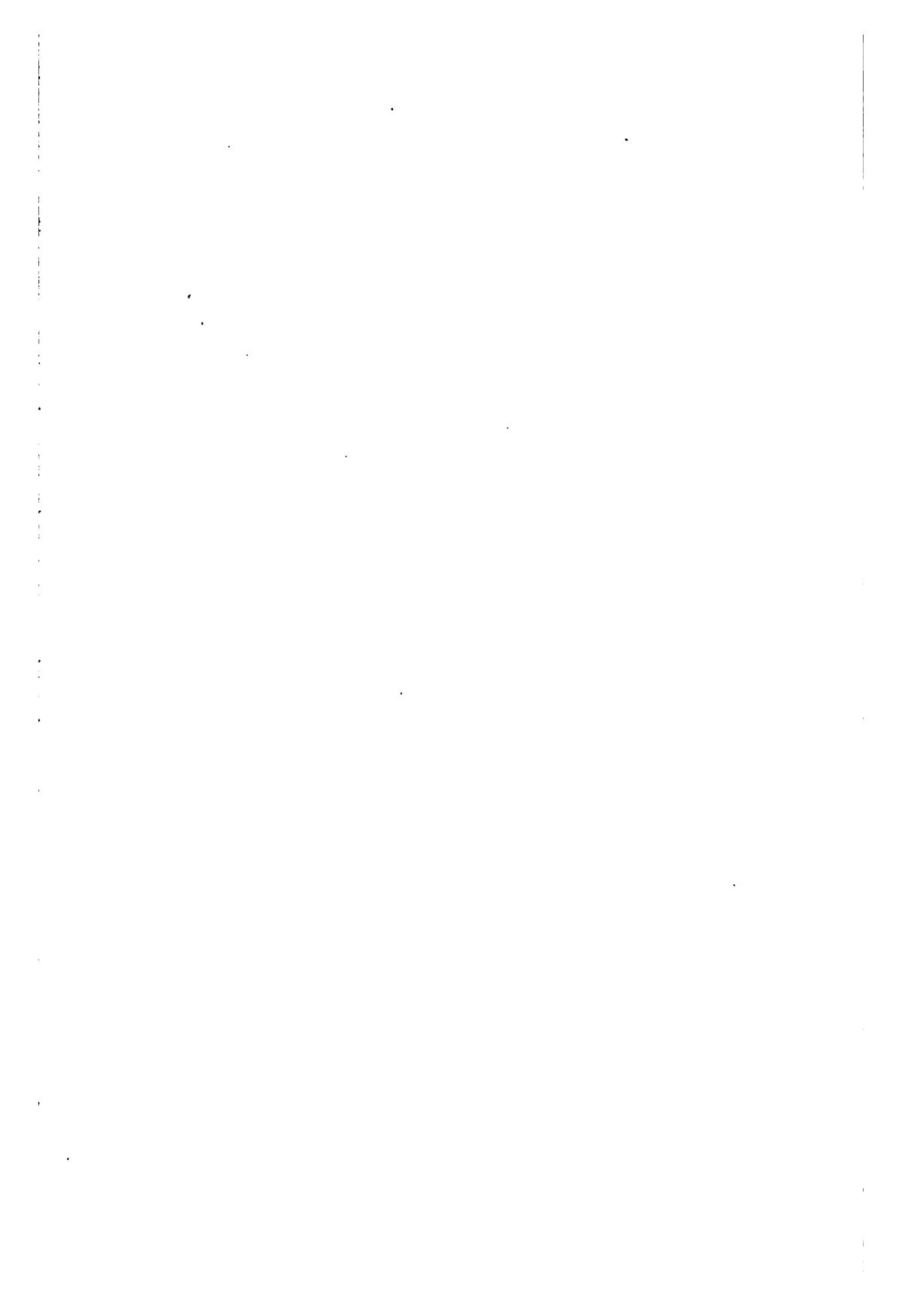
Executive Committee, W. U. Hensel, R. M. Reilly, G. F. K. Erisman, Mrs. Sarah B. Carpenter, Rev. J. W. Hassler, Monroe B. Hirsh, W. A. Heitshu, Simon P. Eby, H. E. Steinmetz, Rev. Dr. John S. Stahr.

A paper by Mr. H. E. Steinmetz was

then read, dealing with the historical episode believed to have taken place between Peter Miller, Prior of the Ephrata Community, and General Washington relative to Michael Whitman, an attainted traitor. A discussion over the same ensued, participated in by Mrs. Robinson, Dr. Dubbs and Mr. Steinmetz. Dr. Dubbs read a ballad on the same subject, written by him some years ago.

Dr. J. W. Hassler read two letters written in 1706-10, in Switzerland, by two Anabaptist elders, detailing their persecutions and imprisonment for conscience sake. These men, with some fifty others, came to Pennsylvania in 1717. The same names are still familiar in this county.

S. P. Eby, Esq., also read a paper on the Seventh Day Baptists. The discussion that followed was participated in by President Steinman, Mr. Sener, Dr. Hassler and Dr. Dubbs.



PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FEBRUARY 7, 1902.



JOHN JOSEPH HENRY

AND

THOMAS PAINE.

MINUTES OF FEBRUARY MEETING.

VOL. VI. NO. 5.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1902.

John Joseph Henry and Thomas Paine	-	-	-	-	61
F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.					
Minutes of February Meeting	-	-	-	-	81

John Joseph Henry.

John Joseph Henry, the second of the President Judges of this district, was born in the city of Lancaster on November 4th, 1758. His father was William Henry, a gunmaker, hardware merchant and inventor, and one of the most prominent citizens of the borough. He was an ardent patriot, early espoused the cause of the Colonies against the mother country, and was employed by the Executive Council as armorer for the patriot forces. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace under the new State Constitution in 1777, and was president of the County Court from 1781 until 1786. His home was a resort for many eminent men who visited Lancaster during the trying times of the Revolution. Among these were David Rittenhouse, the astronomer and philosopher; Thomas Paine, who wrote some of his political pamphlets under Henry's hospitable roof, and he was also the first one to recognize the artistic genius of Benjamin West, who in after years became President of the Royal Academy of Great Britain. William Henry was an Assistant Burgess of Lancaster continuously from 1765 to 1775. He was County Treasurer at the time of his death, in 1786. He was Chairman of the Committee on the Supply and Regulation of the Flour Market in 1779, and held still other important offices under the Government, in all of which he acquitted himself with credit as a true patriot and as honest man.

With such a father and in such a home young John Joseph Henry could not help imbibing the patriotic ardor and enthusiasm which pervaded the very atmosphere of his birthplace. In

addition, he appears to have been of a venturesome and roaming disposition. At the early age of fourteen he was sent to an uncle in Detroit, to learn the gunmaking trade—they seem to have been a family of gunsmiths. Dissatisfied, however, with his surroundings, he started on foot to return to Lancaster, the one man who accompanied him dying on the road.

What he saw and heard going on all around him upon his return kindled in him a desire for military glory, which nothing but the physical disabilities of later years could quench. His father was anxious that he should become an armorer, like himself, but young Henry was entertaining other ambitions. In the summer of 1775 a regiment was raised in the county of Lancaster, mainly, and sent to join the Continental forces before Boston. Young Henry was anxious to join this force, which was commanded by his fellow-citizen, Lieut. Colonel Hand, but his youth, he was only seventeen years old, was against him and his father refused his request. But a soldier John Joseph resolved to be, and he left his home clandestinely and made his way to Boston and joined his friends there.

When General Arnold's expedition against Canada was resolved upon in the fall of 1775, Henry left the regiment without leave and joined the forces destined for Quebec. Arnold selected Lieutenant Steele to move ahead of the main body with seven men to find out and mark the paths used by the Indians in going to and from Canada. The men were chosen, but Henry was the intimate friend and mess-mate of Steele, who persuaded the latter to join his little party of pioneers, and he did so without having authority for the act. Lieut. Col. Hand, in a letter written to his wife in Lancaster, on October 3, 1775, said: "Mr. Henry, junior, has followed the troops to Canada without

leave. Nothing but a perfect loose to his feelings will tame his rambling desire."

Henry wrote a history of that expedition and modestly told of his share in it. I have recently read it, and am free to say that it appears eminently truthful and is certainly accurate, so far as the circumstances and events fell under his own observation. It was written many years after the events narrated had transpired, and was published the year following his death. It gives us an excellent opportunity of studying the character of the man, and the reader cannot fail to be impressed by his nobility and splendid patriotism. But I am anticipating.

The full title of the book is as follows: "An Accurate and Interesting Account of the Hardships and Sufferings of that Band of Heroes, who Traversed the Wilderness in the Campaign Against Quebec in 1775. By John Joseph Henry, Esq., Late President of the Second Judicial District of Pennsylvania, Lancaster: Printed by William Greer, 1812." He tells us it was written for his children.

Arnold's little army marched from near Cambridge, Mass., on the 11th of September, 1775, and consisted of 1,100 men. It sailed on transports to the mouth of the Kennebec river, up which stream much of its future course lay. At Fort Western, the arrangement was made by Arnold whereby Lieutenant Archibald Steele and seven men were sent forward in advance towards the head of the river, marking the paths used by the Indians at the numerous falls, and also to ascertain the course of the Chaudiere river, which runs northward towards Quebec. It would be a long story to tell all that befel this small party of pioneers. Although in a country full of game, such as moose and deer, they did not dare to fire their guns, lest they should alarm any stray Indians that might be

roving about. The result was they ran short of provisions. The many portages they were required to make around falls and other obstructions, their frequent plunges into the icy waters, their marches through swamps and morasses, their camping in rains, snow storms and all kinds of weather, these and other hardships tried their endurance and courage to the utmost. To meet the rigors of the climate and the winter which was fast approaching, he took an account of his wardrobe on October 8, when the weather, as he says, was "piercingly cold." "My wardrobe was scanty and light; it consisted of a roundabout jacket, of woolen, a pair of half-worn buckskin breeches, two pair of woolen stockings, a hat with a feather, a hunting shirt, leggins, a pair of moccasins, and a pair of tolerably good shoes, which had been closely hoarded"—a very scanty outfit for a winter campaign in a high latitude.

These scouts accomplished the purpose for which they had set out, and then started to return. The want of food became unbearable. Once a small duck was shot, and on that the hungry men made their breakfast. Then they killed several moose, and reveled in plenty. But they had nothing else. They had no bread nor salt, nor anything but fresh meat, and that alone enervated instead of strengthening them. Even though they ate continually of it, four, five and six times daily, the appetite remained unsatiated. On the 17th they were back with the army once more, and then the entire force began its march northward. Overeating was even more disastrous to Henry than total abstinence had been. He got sick, and finally became so unwell that he sat down on a log while the army tramped by. He says, "In the rear came Arnold. He knew my name and character, and good-naturedly inquired after my

health. Being informed, he dismounted, ran down to the river side, and hailed the owner of the house which stood opposite across the water. The good Canadian, in his canoe, quickly arrived. Arnold put two silver dollars into my hand, and the Frenchman carried me to his house."

Three days he remained there, and got well on the wholesome fare and tender nursing he received. Then he started after the army, but not until he had offered his two dollars to his kind host, who refused to take them, and on the following day rejoined his company. It is impossible to enter into the further details of his campaign except to relate the results. As all know, through a series of blunders, some preventable and others not, the expedition failed under the walls of Quebec. He was taken prisoner along with a considerable portion of the force, and remained in captivity for nine months.

The horrors of that winter are graphically told. Under all these circumstances he preserved his cheerful spirits, and tried to make the best of the situation. He appears to have impressed favorably all with whom he came in contact. Governor Carleton showed him kindness while a prisoner. A Colonel M'Dougal, whom he had seen in his uncle's house at Detroit three years before, and to whom he ventured to make himself known, befriended him, secured him better quarters and gave him some good advice. A Captain Prentiss was his especial friend, and, by his direction, no irons were put on Henry, as upon the others, after an attempt to escape had been frustrated. One day a Major Maibaum, just from Europe, visited the prison with other British officers. Henry ventured to address him in German, much to his surprise and pleasure. The result was that he offered Henry, through his friend, Captain Prentiss,

the office of interpreter to Baron (General) Knyphausen, who needed one, and used many arguments to induce him to accept the position, which, however, was declined. Three years later he again saw Major Malbaum at Lancaster, but this time the Major was the prisoner. Captain Prentiss, of the British army, also took a liking for the lad, and favored him in many ways, and tried all he could to ease the hardships of his imprisonment. Henry writes: "He often pressed upon me to accept from him money to purchase a suit of clothes, and he would trust to the honor and integrity of my father for payment, whose character he knew. Adhering to my first determination, this polite and generous proposal of my amiable and deserving friend was as often, yet most thankfully, declined. He, however, forced on me a half Johannes (\$8). With this money he bought some needed articles, and the balance expended for cheese, sugar, tea, tobacco and coffee, for his companion prisoners."

I should have mentioned earlier that in the month of April the scurvy broke out among the Quebec prisoners, and so severely that the doctors could not control it. Along with it came several other maladies. His pictures of the sufferings of the men are almost too horrible to relate.

In August it was decided to send the Quebec prisoners to New York on parole, and for exchange. They were embarked on the 10th of that month, and reached New York on the 11th of September. The battle of Long Island had been fought only fifteen days before, and the British held so many prisoners that they hardly knew how to handle them. The Quebec men remained on shipboard. About the beginning of October they were landed and set free near Elizabethtown. Without money or friends he walked

through the streets of that town until he espied a Conestoga wagon unloading stores. The wagoner saw him and recognized him, for he was from Lancaster. Henry writes of the occurrence as follows: "The owner seeing me, grasping my hand with fervor, told me every one believed me dead. Telling him our story, the good old man, without solicitation, presented me with two silver dollars, to be repaid in Lancaster. They were gladly received." He adds in a note: "Who do you think this was? Why, Stephen Lutz, of Lancaster—poor, but industrious. I have thanked him a thousand times since, and have had the pleasure of obliging him."

By hook and by crook, now walking and then getting a lift in vehicles of all sorts, he reached Philadelphia at two o'clock one morning. The closing paragraph of his interesting diary must be given in his own words: "Here (in Philadelphia) we had friends and funds. A gentleman advanced me a sufficient sum to enable me to exchange my leggins and moccasins for a pair of stockings and shoes, and to bear my expenses home. A day and a half brought me to the arms of my beloved parents. At Philadelphia I waited upon a cousin of my mother, Mr. Owen Biddle, then a member of the 'Council of Safety,' who informed me that while in captivity he had procured me a lieutenancy. My heart was otherwise engaged. Morgan (of Morgan's Riflemen, who was a fellow-captive), the hero! had promised and obtained for me a captaincy in the Virginia line. Following the fortunes of that bold and judicious commander, my name might have been emblazoned in the rolls of patriotic fame. But alas! in the course of eight weeks after my return from captivity, a slight cold, caught when skating on the ice

on the Susquehanna, or in pursuing the wild turkey among the Kittatinny hills, put an end to all my visionary schemes of ambition. This cause renewed that abominable disorder, the scurvy (which I had supposed was expelled from my system), accompanied by every morbid symptom, which had been so often observed at Quebec, attendant upon others. The medical men of all classes, being engaged in the army, that species of assistance was unattainable in the degree requisite. Lameness, as you now observe it, was the consequence. Would to God! my extreme sufferings had then ended a life which since has been a tissue of labor, pain and misery."

Henry's aspirations after martial honor and renown having been effectually blasted by disease, he was forced by the circumstances of his situation to seek a livelihood in some other direction. He bound himself as a clerk for a period of four years in the office of John Hubley, Esq., the Prothonotary of Lancaster county, and fulfilled all the duties and requirements of his position to the complete satisfaction of his employer. But that was not all. He looked to his present employment as merely a stepping stone to something better, and with that end in view spent the time when not engaged in his master's work in arduous study, and in a measure also to secure the education which his military career had interrupted, but the penalty for his mental overexertion was paid in still further drains upon his health.

At the close of his clerkship, he began the study of law in the office of Stephen Chambers, one of the leaders of the Lancaster Bar at that time and whose untimely death in a duel with Dr. Rieger is still remembered in our annals. He completed his studies in 1785 and was admitted to the Bar the same year, beginning the practice of

his profession, which he steadily pursued until 1793, when, at the early age of thirty-five, he received from Governor Mifflin the appointment of President Judge of the Second Judicial District of the State.

At this period his prospects in life appear to have been at their brightest. He had just married the sister of his legal preceptor, and the world held out flattering prospects. But the hardships of the march to Canada were telling on his health. Gout and other disorders attacked his not over-vigorous body and made life almost a burden. It is to this period that he referred in the closing paragraphs of his narrative which I have quoted. So severe were his ailments that he was rendered incapable of fulfilling the requirements of his position as Judge. The natural result of all this was that from some of the counties in the district petitions were sent in to the Legislature asking for his removal. Against his conduct as a Judge and his abilities to properly discharge the duties of his office there was no complaint. Absence, through illness, only was alleged. The Legislature investigated the matter, and acquitted him in the most honorable manner of any improper conduct in his office. He continued to hold his commission two years longer, when he resigned it, in 1810, having been on the bench for a period of seventeen years. Four months after his resignation his end came. He died in this city on April 15, 1811, in his fifty-second year. He did not live to see his "History of the Quebec Expedition" in print, but it was published the year after his death.

I have found nothing anywhere which enables me to form an estimate of Judge Henry's legal attainments. As a young man he was bright and apt. His reading must have been considerable, for his narrative contains many

references to the classic authors. Homer and the Iliad, Xenophon, Socrates, Alcibiades, Cicero and Demosthenes are sometimes referred to by him. He appears to have been familiar with some of the writings of Priestly, Locke and Hobbes. Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot are also named. In short, he appears to have read most of the prominent authors who were such favorites with the best informed men of that day. That he was not learned in any sense, unless it was in his profession, seems clearly evident. I am satisfied Judge Henry's opportunities for reading and study were mainly, if not almost exclusively, confined to the books in the Julian Library, of which his father, William Henry, was the librarian, and which was kept in his house. It is probable that his commission as President Judge over many older men at the Bar, and no doubt far abler lawyers, was in some measure due to family and friendly influences, his mother being related to the Biddles. Something, perhaps, was also owing to his brief but patriotic military career and the misfortunes that attended it, all of which were well-known. The long and eminent services of his father in his country's cause, and the small fortune left at the latter's death may not have been without their influence. Something there must have been apart from Henry's legal abilities to have secured him this high and honorable distinction with only eight years of practice at the Bar as his record. Judge Henry was the second and last of our President Judges who had taken an active, personal part in the war for Independence.

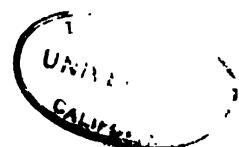
Thomas Paine in Lancaster.

It is very generally known that Thomas Paine, the author of "Common Sense," "The Crisis," and many other political pamphlets, for a time resided

in Lancaster, and that some of his best-known publications were written here. Many other things concerning that person, his habits and ways of life are current among us to-day, but not one person in a thousand knows where that knowledge originally came from. I never saw it in print until I read Judge Henry's diary, and I question greatly whether it can be traced to any other original source. It is interesting to know that these stories, which in these later days have taken a traditional form, almost semi-mythical, I may say, are actual occurrences put on record by one who lived under the same roof with him, who met him at the table and in daily intercourse, who, in addition, heard the man and his ways discussed by that man's associates, whether willing or unwilling, and that they are, therefore, entirely deserving of credit. I will, therefore, quote from some of the notes referring to Tom Paine, which Judge Henry has appended to his history.

Judge Henry at one place devotes several pages to the defense of Christianity, and quotes the great names of Huss, Jerome of Prague, Martin Luther, John Calvin, Cranmer, Sir Thomas Moore, Bishop Spangenberg, Mosheim, Addison, Steele and others as believers, and then remarks that such men as Paine and Allen—the latter was a companion in the Quebec expedition and wrote a most violent attack on the Bible—"are paltry wretches, mere scribblers, if classed with the men already named.....The maniac, Paine, when confined in the prison Conciergerie, at Paris, seems to boast 'that he kept no Bible.' This may be true. But the expression shows that his proper place, instead of a common jail, should have been a mad house.

"It shows, however, a variety of mind beyond the bearing of men of understanding. Indeed, he was infected by a supercilious pride and an imaginary



importance which made his society undesirable. He was one of that class of men who, with a small spice of learning, in company domineered as if he had been a Johnson. He was almost unbearable to many men, who patronized him because of the good effect of his works during the Revolution. To give you a few instances: The late David Rittenhouse, Esq., one of the most amiable, most ingenious, and best of men, Treasurer of the State; George Bryan, Esq., the Vice President of the Council, a man of great reading and much good sense; Jonathan Sergeant, the Attorney General of Pennsylvania, whose oratorical powers could scarcely be surpassed, and your grandfather (William Henry, Esq.), and many other gentlemen of character, during the course of the years '77, '78 and '79, were in habits of intimacy with him, but his dogmatic disposition and obstinacy of mind frequently caused great disgust.

"Again, Colonel Samuel John Atlee, an excellent patriot, and a man of note among us, both in the military and civil capacities of a citizen, gave this anecdote to me a few months after the occurrence happened. Though all the gentlemen present approved of the writings of Paine, as they concerned our political state, for they were all of them to a man good Whigs, yet they abhorred him, because of his personal aberrations from virtue and the decencies of social life. A Mr. Meese, of Philadelphia, who was clothier-general, had invited a number of gentlemen of the army, then in the city, to dine with him, among whom were Colonel Atlee, Colonel Francis Johnson, General Nichols, and many members of the Legislature, of whom there was Matthias Slough, of Lancaster. You may readily suppose that the excellent wine of Mr. Meese exhilarated the company. When returning to their lodgings, Colonel Atlee observed

Paine coming towards them down Market street. 'There comes "Common Sense,'" says Atlee to the company. 'Damn him,' says Slough, 'I shall common sense him.' As he approached the party they took the wall. Mr. Slough tripped him and threw him on his back into a gutter, which, at that time, was very offensive and filthy.

"This is told to communicate a trait to you, (it must be remembered Judge Henry was writing all this for the information of his children) in the character of Thomas Paine, who did some good, but a vast deal of harm to mankind, 'that the very people who were most benefited by his literary labors hated him.' The company I have spoken of were all men of eminence in the State; men who staked their all on the issue of the Revolution. The writings of Paine, as concerns us, are, many of them, handsomely worded, have pith, and much strength of argument, and are generally correct, yet his domestic life and manners were so very incorrect that a disgust, which was perhaps right, destroyed every favorable personal feeling towards him. His numbers of 'Common Sense,' the 'Crisis,' and some other of his fugitive pieces, every American who recollects those 'trying times' must acknowledge to have been extremely beneficial to our cause. This has often been admitted by our Generals, Washington, Gates, Green and others, but he was compensated, and had the Secretaryship for Foreign Affairs. Like all men of bad principles, he betrayed his trust, and a virtuous Congress displaced him, yet the different States more than remunerated him for all his writings.

"So it is, that that man, who was without virtue, a disturber of the peace, an ill husband, an unworthy citizen, cloaked by every vice, would now, by his 'Age of Reason,' which he

stole from the ignorant Ethan Allen, who was as iniquitous as himself, destroy the peace of mind and all the hope of happiness in futurity of those who rely on the redemption of their souls by the blood of Christ; and that without substituting or even suggesting any other manner of faith, tending to quiet the minds of sinners. I knew Paine well, and that personally, for he lodged in the house of my father during the time that Generals Howe and Clinton were in Philadelphia. His host often regretted the entertainment he gave him. His manners were in opposition and hostile to the observances of the propertaries and due ordinances of social life. Many who approved of his political writings abominated his detestable mode of living and acting.

"Such is the man, who, upon his slight intercourse with the American people, pluming himself with the well-earned celebrity of his political pieces, that now presumes to become a reformer of our morals, our religious opinions and thinkings on Divine subjects; he himself a reprobate, cloaked by every vice, would dictate to a great and independent Christian people their formulary of belief. Such insolence and presumption was never before witnessed, unless it was in the instance of Mahomet, or in those of the impostures (such as Sabatti Sevi), who frequently, as Messias, appeared to deceive the remnant of the Jewish people. Paine, with all his other vices, had a foible injurious to our country. To keep up the spirits of the people it was requisite that there should be a series of patriotic publications. Paine was the most indolent of men; if he was inspired by a muse, the goddess most certainly made him but few visits. The office of 'Secretary of Foreign Affairs' was conferred upon him because of the merit of his 'Common Sense,' or what are called the 'Crisis.'

under the signature of 'Common Sense.' It was to him personally a sinecure. He never went to York (Penn.), where Congress then sat, but occasionally, and staid but a day or two. His true employment was that of a political writer. In the summer and winter of 1777 and 1778 he was an inmate of my father's house, as were the late David Rittenhouse, the State Treasurer, and John Hart, a member of the then 'Executive Council.'

"Paine would walk of a morning until 12 o'clock; come in and make an inordinate dinner. The rising from the table was between two and three o'clock. He would then retire to his bed chamber, wrap a blanket around him, and, in a large arm-chair, take a nap of two or three hours—rise and walk. These walks and his indolence surprised my parents; they knew him as the author of 'Common Sense,' who had written patriotically, and in those writings promulgated some moral and religious ideas, which induced them to believe he was an orthodox Christian. Indeed Paine, during the Revolution, was careful to emit no irreligious dogmas, or any of his late diabolical ideas; if he had, the good sense of the American people, their virtue and unfeigned worship of the Deity, would have, in those days, banished him from the country. Your grandfather's feelings a few months before his death (which occurred on the 15th of December, 1786), when speaking of the unbeliever (Paine), were truly poignant; for now the wretch's true character had begun to open on the world. He lamented, with tears, that he had ever admitted him into his house or had a personal acquaintance and intercourse with him. He was from conviction a sincere Christian, converted by the Scriptures; of a strong mind, and of a most tender conscience.

"Do not permit anything now said to induce you to undervalue the sagacity of my father, for he was wise; but of so benevolent a mind that in the common affairs of life, he held a principle in morality as true, which is by no means generally received; that is, 'That we should consider every one as possessing probity, until we discover him to be otherwise.' Other gentlemen think differently. However, it may well be maintained that the side my father took on this topic, which I have often heard argued, accords with the true spirit of the gospel; the other side is stoicism. From these last observations, you will readily perceive how easy it was to impose upon my father. This is the reason for his entertaining Paine. I have said that Paine was indolent. Take this as an instance: 'The Crisis,' No. 5, is but a short political essay, to be sure, of great skill in the composition, of much eloquent invective, strong reasoning, some historic anecdote, and a fund of ridicule which fitted the passions of the times. But recollect that this piece, to Paine, was a labor of three months in the editing. It was written in my father's house. Mr. D. Rittenhouse inhabited the front room, in the upper story, where was the library. (This reference is undoubtedly to the Julians Library, of which William Henry was at that time the librarian, and in whose house it was also located for many years; in fact, until its removal to its last resting place prior to its disposal, the Heitshu building, on North Queen street, now occupied by the Fulton Bank.)* There he kept the

*The library alluded to by Henry was the Juliana Library, founded in 1755 as "The Lancaster Library Company." Where the library was domiciled prior to 1761 is unknown. In that year, as appears from the minutes of the meeting held on May 9, 1761, a room was rented from Benjamin Price, on North Queen street, for the term of three or five years, at a

office of the Treasury of Pennsylvania. The room of Messrs. Hart and Paine was to the left hand as you came up to the stair-head, entering the library.

"When my wound in 1778 was so far mended that hobbling on crutches, or by creeping up stairs (as you may have seen me of late years do), my greatest recreation in my distressed state of mind was to get into the chamber of Mr. Rittenhouse, where the books were. There, his conversation (for he was most affable) enlivened my mind, and the books would so amuse it, that it became calm, and some desperate resolutions were dissolved. While that excellent man was employing his hours in the duties of his office, for the benefit of the people, Paine would be snoring away his precious time in his easy chair, regardless of those injunctions imposed upon him by Congress in relation to his political compositions. His remissness, indolence or vacuity of thought, caused great heart-burning among many primary characters in those days. I have heard the late George Bryan, Esq., then Vice President of the Council, speak of his gross neglect with remarkable harshness. I would sometimes go into Paine's room and sit with him. His 'Crisis No. 5' lay on his table, dusted; to-day three or four lines would be added; in the course of a week a dozen more, and so

rental of £10 per annum. In 1786 it was moved to the house of William Henry, on East King street, now No. 8, who was also the Librarian. His accounts with the library show that he drew rent from November 1, 1786, until November 1, 1788, at the rate of 26 per annum, and the same sum for his services as Librarian. How much longer it was kept there is unknown. From John Joseph Henry's narrative it was evidently still there in 1778. It was moved from thence to what is now No. 1 East King street, where it remained for a number of years. Its final removal was to what is now No. 21 North Queen street. This was prior to 1800. It remained there until 1843, when it was sold at auction. The last Librarian was Mr. George Weitzel, who owned the property and acted as Librarian.

on. No. 5 is dated 21st of March, 1778, but it was not published until some months after that date, and it was generally thought by good Whigs that it had been too long delayed. For my part, I was so passionately engaged at heart in the principles of our cause that Paine's manner of living and acting gave me a high disgust towards him. No idea could enter my mind that any one in that noble struggle could be idle or disengaged. As to myself, my sensations were such that the example of a Decius might have been renewed."

It may be thought that Judge Henry deals harshly with Thomas Paine in the remarks I have laid before you, but there are reasons which must be taken into consideration. He was an Orthodox believer. He was reared in a pious home. His mother was a most exemplary woman in every walk of life. He describes her as a person of strong understanding, and of an unfeigned and rigid belief in the truth of Christianity, yet a placid dispassionate and mild religionist, with a heart so free from thinking evil of any one that it might with truth be said of her, "she knew no guile." He relates that one day he bought a pamphlet written by the noted Dr. Joseph Priestley. He was reading the book one evening when his mother came into the room to sit with the family. She asked him to read it aloud. He began, but after reading two or three pages, she rapped the book from his hands and threw it into the fire. He asked her why she destroyed his book. The reply came with an observable degree of anger: "Because your book would destroy my happiness in this world and that to come. I know I have a Saviour who redeemed me, whose blood was shed upon the cross for me; of this I am convinced. Your book goes to make me doubt the merits and sufferings of that Saviour. The book

would deprive me of the only staff upon which my hope of salvation rests, and gives me none other upon which I can lean."

Is it to be wondered at that having learned his code of morality from the lips of such a mother, that he should detest and despise the doctrines so brazenly advocated by Paine? There is no room to doubt Henry's sincerity in all he has written about Paine. But this is not all. He leaves it very clear that his views of the notorious infidel were the views very generally, if not universally, entertained of him.

The fact is, the qualities of Paine were not such as retain friends after he had won them. He gave offense to the entire American people for his abuse of General Washington in a personal letter. Among other things he said to Washington that his character was "a sort of non-describable, chameleon-colored thing called prudence, so nearly allied to hypocrisy that it easily slid into it. Once in the Presidential office the natural ingratitude of his character appeared. He assumed the merit of everything to himself; swallowed the grossest adulation, and had supported monopolies (trusts?) of every kind from the moment his administration began." The gist of his whole letter to Washington was thus summed up: "And, as for you, sir, treacherous in private friendship (for so you have been to me, and that in the day of danger), and a hypocrite in public life, the world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an apostate or an impostor; whether you have abandoned good principles or whether you ever had any."

Men associated with him because of the undenied service he had been or was to the cause of the Colonies. For the man himself they had no liking or admiration. There was a good deal of free thinking in those days, but it did not flaunt itself in the public gaze com-

tinually, nor was it accompanied by the many other social vices that marked it in the life of Thomas Paine. Henry was at this time just twenty years of age. His character was in its formative period. He caught on to what was going on around him; to the good and not the evil, and the passages we have quoted no doubt reflect the sentiments of Paine's contemporaries fairly and accurately. (I don't think)

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.

Minutes of February Meeting.

Lancaster, Feb. 7, 1902.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met stately this afternoon in its room, in the Young Men's Christian Association building, Vice President Dr. Dubbs in the chair.

The roll of officers was called and the minutes of the January meeting were read and adopted, after an addition was made.

The applications of Thaddeus Helm, P. T. Watt and W. O. Frailey for membership were received.

The donations to the Society consisted of a copy of the "Parochial History of St. John's Church," donated by Mr. J. M. W. Geist; a copy of the history of the Wisconsin Historical Library, finely illustrated; numerous exchanges from libraries and societies, and the large sign that for half a century swung before the Red Lion Hotel, and an old-fashioned lamp from the same hostelry, donated by the Misses Lichtry. The thanks of the Society were extended to the various donors.

The chief paper of the day was on Judge John Joseph Henry, the second President Judge of the Lancaster District, written by F. R. Diffenderfer and read by Mrs. M. N. Robinson. The paper gave a full sketch of Judge Henry's private career and official life, drawn largely from memoranda left by Judge Henry himself. As it was in Judge Henry's father's house that Thomas Paine resided during his stay in Lancaster in 1777 and 1778, and wrote some of his political pamphlets, and, as he was daily brought into communication with the Henrys, their opinions of the man were given and an account of the man himself, and the general detestation in which he was held by all who knew him related.

Miss Martha B. Clark read a very satisfactory sketch of William Henry, Esq., the father of Judge Henry, and himself one of the most prominent and patriotic of our citizens during the Revolutionary era.

The thanks of the Society were tendered the writers, and the papers were ordered to be printed in the usual way.

Considerable discussion followed on the papers read and over the location of the Juliana Library, which was at one time domiciled in William Henry's house, and where Judge Henry became acquainted with the writers quoted in his memoirs.

The Treasurer of the Society announced that he had received \$200 from the County Controller and the County Commissioners, under the provisions of the recent law passed by the Legislature. The announcement was received with a burst of applause, and a vote of thanks was extended for the same.

A beautiful symbolical book plate, designed by D. McN. Stauffer, Esq., of New York, for the use of the Society, was shown. It was accepted, and a vote of thanks tendered for the same.

On motion of Dr. Houston, a committee, consisting of Mrs. DuBois Rohrer, Miss Heitshu, Miss Clark, Rev. Dr. J. W. Hassler and S. M. Sener, was appointed on fuller room equipment. Mrs. M. N. Robinson, James D. Law and F. R. Diffenderfer were named a committee on looking up a badge for members' uses. Messrs. Sener and Hassler were instructed to prepare a minute on the death of Prof. I. S. Geist, a late member of the Society.

On motion, the Society agreed to furnish an electrotype of its book plate to the Society of Pennsylvanians for New York, as requested by the latter.

The meeting was well attended and the proceedings animated and interesting.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MARCH 7 AND APRIL 4, 1902.



A REMARKABLE LETTER.

MINUTES OF MARCH MEETING.

WILLIAM STOY.

MINUTES OF APRIL MEETING.

VOL. VI. Nos. 6 AND 7.

LANCASTER, PA.

REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.

1902.

A Remarkable Letter	-	-	-	-	-	85
F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.						
Minutes of March Meeting	-	-	-	-	-	90
William Stoy : Clergyman, Doctor and Scholar	-	-	-	-	-	92
Dr. JOSEPH H. DUBBS.						
Minutes of April Meeting	-	-	-	-	-	99

A REMARKABLE LETTER.

Some time ago my attention was called to a very remarkable letter written by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel to his Prime Minister, Baron Hohendorf, soon after the news of the battle of Trenton reached him. All in all, I am disposed to regard it as one of the most remarkable documents ever written by a civilized ruler.

When Great Britain made her contract with the six German Princes to hire their troops for service in America, Frederick II. was Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. He must not be confounded with his great namesake and contemporary, Frederick of Prussia. He was the Catholic ruler of a Protestant country. His first wife was an Englishwoman, the daughter of George II., of England. She separated herself from her husband on his conversion to Catholicism.

After that, Frederick led a merry life in his capital of Cassel. His court, small as it was, was perhaps the most corrupt in Europe, being crowded with adventurers of all kinds. He was a reprobate of the first water, and was credited with being the father of one hundred children. At the breaking out of the Revolution he was about sixty years of age, and appears to have become somewhat more steady in his habits.

His territory was not large, and his subjects were only a few more than 300,000 in number. His army in 1781 numbered 22,000. They were drilled in the Prussian system and were accounted excellent soldiers.

Of the 29,875 men hired by Great Britain from the six German Princes

for service in America, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel contributed 16,992, or rather more than one-half the entire number. The treaty under which their services were secured was made on January 1, 1776. The King of Great Britain engaged in a defensive alliance with the Landgrave. In some particulars he appears to have been watchful of his soldiers and to have guarded their interests very carefully. Some of the conditions of that treaty were as follows:

The Hessian troops were not to be separated, but kept together under their own generals, unless the exigencies of war should require a separation. The sick were to remain under their own surgeons, and everything was to be allowed them which the English King allowed his soldiers.

Under that treaty the Landgrave was to furnish 12,000 men fully equipped. I have already stated the number in the end reached nearly seventeen thousand. As the war progressed, the need of Great Britain for more soldiers increased and she naturally turned to the German principalities where they were to be had in lots to suit buyers. Hence the additional numbers sent over to this country. He was to receive levy money at the rate of £7,4 1/2, or a little more than \$36 for each man sent. In addition he was to receive £108,281 per annum as a subsidy, nearly \$550,000, to be continued for one year after the return of his troops. He was also sharp enough to insist on the payment of an old claim, previously disallowed by Great Britain, amounting to over \$200,000.

Just what he got for men killed in battle, maimed or wounded is not known, but the terms are supposed to have been the same as those conceded to the Duke of Brunswick, which were \$36 for every soldier killed in battle and \$11.66 for every one maimed in

battle. One clause in this diabolical treaty ran thus: "According to custom three wounded men shall be reckoned as one killed; a man killed shall be paid for at the rate of levy money, \$86." The letter of the Landgrave which I will now read throws some light on this interesting payment of blood money. The letter is copied from "Littell's Living Age" for October 3, 1874:

"Baron Hohendorf—At Rome, on my return from Naples, I received your letter of the 27th December of the past year. With inexpressible delight I learned of the courage displayed by my troops at Trenton, and you can imagine my joy when I read that of 1,950 Hessians engaged in the fight, only 300 escaped. According to this, exactly 1,650 have been slain, and I cannot recommend to your attention too much the necessity of sending an exact list to my attorneys in London. This care is necessary, because the list sent to the English minister shows a loss of only 1,455. In this way I should suffer a loss of 160,050 florins. According to the account rendered by the lord of the treasury I should receive but 483,450 florins instead of 643,500 florins. You will see at once that it is their intention to make me suffer a loss by an error in calculation, and therefore you must take the utmost pains to prove that your list is correct and theirs false.

"The English Government objects that one hundred are wounded only, for which it cannot be expected to pay the same price as for killed.

"Remember, that of the three hundred Lacedaemonians who defended the pass of Thermopylae, not one returned. I should be happy if I could say the same of my brave Hessians.

"Tell Major Miedorff that I am extremely displeased with his behavior, to conduct into camp the three hun-

dred which fled the battlefield at Trenton. During the whole campaign he has not lost ten of his whole command."

The Landgrave's account of his losses at the battle of Trenton differs from those officially reported. General Washington in his first report to Congress says 23 officers and 868 men surrendered; a few more afterwards picked up in Trenton raised the number of prisoners taken to about 1,000. Only about 20 or 30 were killed. The troops at Trenton consisted of one brigade, composed of three regiments, Rahl's, Knyphausen's and von Lossberg's, all German mercenaries. It deserves to be stated these men were excellent soldiers; braver ones were not sent here by Great Britain. They fought gallantly as often as they marched upon a field of battle. The officers were men of experience and Germany had none better. They carefully watched over the interests of their troops and looked after their welfare.

Most of the German soldiers captured at Saratoga, Trenton and elsewhere during the war were sent into this State, Maryland and Virginia. The avowed purpose for doing this was to remove them as far from all danger of recapture as possible. It is probable there was still another motive and one equally strong. The frontiers of the States just mentioned were settled largely by Germans. When these German soldiers were quartered in these German settlements they were of course brought into direct contact with their former countrymen. There are always some soldiers in an army ready to desert. There is reason to believe this fighting in the service of King George was distasteful to many of them; many of them got away of their own accord. More listened to the persuasions of their German countrymen, who, as farmers and handicraftsmen, were pros-

pering in their new homes beyond anything that was dreamed of in the old. Doubtless it required little persuasion to induce them to desert, nor was thatfeat difficult. They had no trouble in finding hiding and homes among their German countrymen, remaining thus cared for until all danger of apprehension was over. How many of these German soldiers remained here is of course not known, but it is possible to form something like a close estimate. The official accounts, according to the best authorities, show that of the 29,867 who came to America, to fight under the banner of King George III., 17,313 were returned to Europe in the autumn of 1783. The number that did not return was 12,554, which have been accounted for as follows:

Killed and died of wounds.....	1,200
Died of illness and accident.....	6,354
Deserted	5,000
<hr/>	
Total	12,554

F. R. D.

Minutes of March Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., March 7, 1902.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its usual monthly meeting in its rooms, in the Y. M. C. A. building, this afternoon, Vice President Dubbs being in the chair. The roll of officers was called and the minutes of the February meeting were read and adopted.

Messrs. P. T. Watt, Rev. T. G. Helm and W.O. Frailey were elected to membership. The donations to the Society consisted of a copy of Mrs. Gibbons' "Pennsylvania Dutch," Centennial Sketches, Pictorial History of Pennsylvania, and a number of old newspapers, contributed by Mrs. S. Sentman, in memory of her son, Mr. P. Sentman, a member of the Society. Also, an illustrated show bill of a concert given in Fulton Hall in 1854 by the Hutchinson family.

A letter written by Frederick II., Landgrave of Hesse Castle, written in 1777, relating to the battle of Trenton, and the killing and capture of his troops on that occasion, was read. It was one of the most heartless and diabolical letters ever written by a ruler. It was accompanied by a commentary, by way of explanation, by the Secretary.

A quotation from Bowen's "Pictur-esque Pennsylvania" was also read, showing that as early as 1760 William Henry, Esq., of this city, was experimenting with a boat driven by steam on the Conestoga river. The boat was eventually sunk, and Henry gave up his pursuit of the scheme. No doubt Fulton, who was aware of Henry's experiments, got some of his ideas on our own river. Considerable

discussion followed the reading of these extracts.

The Rev. Dr. J. W. Hassler, from the committee to prepare a minute on the death of Prof. I. S. Geist, late a member of the Society, reported the following:

At the February meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society, the death of Prof. I. S. Geist, of Marietta, a member of this Society, was announced.

The committee to draft a minute appreciative of the Society's regret at the loss of the deceased member reported the following:

Prof. I. S. Geist, though unable, on account of the infirmities of age, to regularly attend the meetings of this body, was deeply interested in its work. Descended from among the earliest German settlers of our county, as an intelligent man, whose active life was almost entirely spent in the work of education, he could not fail to be much interested in our work of historical research. His death is much lamented, not only by the citizens of his own town, but also by this Society.

COMMITTEE.

It was also agreed to place a new book case in the Society's room, and this will be done at once. The Society is now prepared to furnish shelf room to any and all proper donations in the way of books, manuscripts, newspapers and historical relics of all kinds, and all such articles are earnestly solicited. It is believed that there are many persons in the community who have articles of this kind which they have no use for themselves, but which they care to see preserved. The Society will gladly receive all such and place them among its collections, where they may become permanently and generally useful.

WILLIAM STOY.

The text of my present paper is an old letter which I have found among my half-forgotten collections. It was written to Judge Jasper Yeates, who was one of the most eminent men in the early history of our city. The letter has never been published, and, though its contents are not particularly important, it derives a certain interest from the personality of its writer, who was pastor of the First Reformed Church, on Orange street, from 1758 to 1763, and was certainly one of the most peculiar ministers that ever occupied a pulpit in Lancaster. The following is a copy of this very curious letter:

"Lebanon, Jan. 4, 1787.

"Sir: As to all present appearance, it will hardly be possible for me to attend the Lancaster Court, but it will be useless, too, as it will not be in my power to bring my evidences together. One of 'em, the best I have, lives within the hills of the Blue Mountains, where nobody at present is able to come to on account of the deep snow. A young man came to me to-day from over the Hills on account of his Brother, who got mad of the bite of a dog, who told me that he could not get farther than a mile on horseback, and was obliged to walk all the way on foot. In case I should not attend, you will be so good as to make the best of it and do what is necessary. However, if possible, I will come to Lancaster, though my health is mighty precarious all this winter. I am, sir,

"Your o. h. sert,

"W. STOY."

In order properly to understand this letter it may be desirable to relate certain facts in the history of its writer.

The Rev. Wm. Stoy (pronounced Sto-e) was born in Herborn, Nassau, Germany, March 4, 1726. In his native town there was a celebrated literary and theological institution, and here he was thoroughly educated. In those days knowledge of the Latin language was regarded as the chief mark of a scholar, and in this respect he was certainly far in advance of his associates. He grew up a young man of almost gigantic frame, and his physical strength was regarded as enormous. In 1749 he became a candidate of theology—or, as we should now say, a licentiate—but does not seem to have been called to a regular charge. In 1751, Michael Schlatter visited Europe, and in the following year Stoy, with five other young ministers, accompanied him on his return to America. They had all been duly commissioned by the deputies of the Synods of Holland to serve as pastors in Pennsylvania.

Concerning the earliest years of Stoy's activity in this country we have little information, except a few facts and dates. Immediately after his arrival he was assigned to the Tulpehocken charge, now in Lebanon county, where he preached from 1752 to 1755. Then he accepted a call to the Race street church, Philadelphia, where he also remained three years. Here, it was said, he might have done well enough, if it had not been for his marriage with Maria Elizabeth Maus, "the daughter of a stocking weaver." So far as we have been able to learn, there was nothing to be said against the girl's character, but in those days undue stress was laid on social position, and, greatly to their discredit, the members of the congregation—or more probably the ladies of the congregation—refused to recognize her as their pastor's wife. The result was a conflict, in which, we may be sure, Stoy was in no way backward to return the blows which he received. The minutes



of the Coetus (or Synod) contain the following item: "There were complaints concerning Stoy's marriage, but it was solemnized in his father-in-law's house, in the presence of the pastors Otterbein, Leydich and Du Bois." A marriage that was witnessed by three ministers certainly did not lack official sanction, and the Synod very properly ignored the complaints which had been presented.

Nevertheless, the position of Pastor Stoy in Philadelphia can hardly have been pleasant; and even before his marriage had been brought to the attention of Synod he had removed to Lancaster. Here he seems to have got along very well. In 1758 he reported that his congregation consisted of one hundred families; that he had baptized one hundred children during the year and confirmed forty, and that there were sixty scholars in the parochial school.

For several years Stoy served as clerk of the Coetus. As the authorities in Holland refused to receive German communications, and Stoy was not sufficiently familiar with Dutch, he wrote long letters in Latin. In these letters there was a manifest effort to employ a Ciceronian style, but the only result was that it became pompous and inflated. Even the "Fathers" in Holland complained that his Latin letters were too exalted for their purposes, and begged to be spared from similar inflictions.

In 1763 Stoy resigned his charge in Lancaster and went to Europe for the purpose of studying medicine. He was matriculated at Leyden, but pursued his studies chiefly under the direction of Prof. Hoffman, of Herborn.

On his return to America, in 1767, he settled in Lebanon for the practice of medicine. He also irregularly took charge of several county congregations. The statement that he was pastor of the First Reformed Church, of Lebanon, has been proved erroneous.

Greatly to his surprise the Coetus refused to recognize him as a member, and he began to oppose that organization. He wrote to Holland to secure the influence of "the Fathers," and these requested the Coetus to reinstate him, but that body declined to accede to the request. He remained independent, and was violent in his opposition to synods. As late as 1773 the Coetus said in its official letter to Holland: "Stoy cannot be received. Last year he published a satirical article against Coetus, and this year he sent us a threatening circular."

In the meantime, however, Stoy had gained a great reputation as a physician. His cure for hydrophobia—which was equally applicable to the bite of wild animals—was for many years accepted as a specific. "The remedy," according to Dr. J. H. Redsecker, "consisted of one ounce of the herb, red chickweeds, four ounces of theriac (or Venice treacle), and one quart of beer, all well digested, the dose being a wine glassful." Though physicians are now inclined to question the merit of this remedy, it is still occasionally prepared. It must be said, however, that several recipes for its preparation have been published which differ in minor particulars. The early celebrity of the remedy is sufficiently attested by the following extract from the account book of General Washington: "October 18, 1798. Gave my servant, Christopher, to bear his expenses to a person in Lebanon, in Pennsylvania, celebrated for curing persons bit by wild animals, \$25."

"Stoy's Drops" are also well remembered. In his contribution to the Lebanon County Historical Society, Dr. Redsecker gives the manner of their preparation. They are described as beneficial in nervous diseases.

That Dr. Stoy was a progressive physician is evident from the fact that he labored in the face of much opposition

for the introduction of inoculation against small-pox.

In 1784 Dr. Stoy was elected a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature. A long letter to Gen. Joseph Read, on "The present Mode of Taxation," was published by him in 1779. In it he advocates a single tax on land. Though the general idea appears strangely modern the details of his plan are plainly impracticable.

By this time Stoy had become pretty thoroughly secularized, but he continued to preach in country churches throughout Lebanon and Berks counties. That he was very eccentric is not to be doubted, though many of the stories which are related about him are possibly apocryphal. He is said to have worn a white coat, in order that he might not be mistaken for a "black-coat," i. e., a regular minister. "It is stated," says Dr. Redsecker, "that on one occasion he was to preach at Walmers church on a week-day. On entering the church he stood his gun under the pulpit, hanging the powder-horn and shot-pouch by the gun. Ascending the pulpit he looked over the congregation, which was very small, and thus soliloquized: 'What, only a few old women! Why should I preach to a few women when the hunting is so excellent?' And, descending the pulpit stairway, he took up his gun and started out in quest of game."

Not less curious are the legends of Stoy's extraordinary physical strength. It is said that he was fond of showing his strength by lifting a bag of wheat with each hand, and then playfully inquiring whether there was chaff in the bags.

One of the best-known stories relates how Stoy served a prize fighter who rode all the way from Philadelphia to give him a beating. The man inquired for the Doctor at his house, but was told that he had attended a funeral in the country, but would soon return.

"Well," said the fellow, "I will ride out to meet him." When he met him on the road he recognized him by the description which he had received, and said: "Stoy, I have heard that you are the strongest man in Pennsylvania, and have come from Philadelphia to see which of us is the best man. I am going to give you a thorough whipping."

"Oh, no," said Stoy, "I am a man of peace, and will not fight."

The stranger dismounted and made an effort to pull the Doctor from his horse. "Oh," said he, "if it has come to that I will get down without pulling." When he had alighted he did not wait for an attack, but suddenly seized his antagonist by the belt, and by main strength pitched him over the fence into an adjoining field. Lying on his back on the grass, and, between laughing and crying, the man said: "Stoy, throw my horse over the fence, too."

Here the story ends, and we may believe it or not, just as we please. All these stories, however, have an element of similarity, and aid us in forming an idea of the character of the man. He was learned and strong, but eccentric in the highest degree. Having conceived the idea that he could secure wonderful results by training one of his sons to be a Nazarite, he put him under strict training—requiring him to abstain from certain kinds of food and drink, to let his hair grow, and do many unusual things; but the plan was not successful, and the boy never became as strong as his father. When, however, the editor of a Reading paper volunteered to play on Dr. Stoy's name and called him a "Stoic," he gave him such a setting-down as must have made his ears tingle.

In later years, at least, Stoy bore the reputation of being contentious, and he certainly quarreled with a great many people. Dr. Eggle, in 1883, published two of his letters, written in 1775, in

one of which he formally accused Gen. John Philip De Haas of being a Tory. As De Haas was soon afterwards commissioned by Congress a General in the Revolutionary Army, there may be some ground for Dr. Eggle's suggestion that the trouble was with Stoy and not with De Haas.

Stoy was litigious and generally had several law suits on hand. One of these was with James Chesnale, who built a house for him in Lebanon, and this is probably the case to which our letter refers.

Stoy ended his somewhat stormy life at Lebanon, September 14, 1801, and was buried at the Host Church, in Berks county. That he was a strong man—mentally as well as physically—will not be doubted; but, from what we have said, it must be equally plain that he was a peculiar minister.

JOS. H. DUBBS.

Minutes of April Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., April 4, 1902.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held in the ladies' parlor of the Young Men's Christian Association this afternoon, Rev. Dr. J. H. Dubbs in the chair. The roll of officers was called and the minutes of the March meeting were read and adopted.

The following applications for membership were received: Miss Eliza J. Diller, of Weldon, Montgomery county; Horace Edward Hayden, of Wyoming county; Miss Mary S. Goodell, of Lancaster, and the Carnegie Library, at Pittsburg.

The donations to the Society were a copy of the recently-issued Year Book of St. James' Parish, of this city, donated by George N. Reynolds, Esq.; a block taken from a girder of Independence Hall, when that building was repaired in 1837, donated by a friend; also, a sermon by Rev. Stewart Cramer on the death of President McKinley, and a number of periodicals and exchanges from sister societies. The thanks of the Society were extended to all the above donors.

The paper of the day was read by the Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs, the subject being the very remarkable career of the Reverend William Stoy, who was preacher, doctor, politician and an eccentric, all in one. His career, which was an interesting one, was run in this and the neighboring counties.

This was followed by a long discussion of some features of the paper, leading up to Mr. Stoy's well-known cure for hydrophobia, once universally accepted and believed in by the people of this locality.

Dr. Dubbs read an interesting circular, issued without date by Thomas Pool, who was conducting the Franklin Academy, early in the nineteenth century.

A committee consisting of the Librarian and Treasurer was appointed to purchase a number of recently published books much needed by the Society. The Committee on Badges was instructed to procure a suitable one for the use of the members. There being no further business, the Society, on motion, then adjourned.

The meeting was well-attended, the ladies having turned out in goodly numbers. The proceedings were both interesting and instructive. The good work the Society is doing should increase its membership largely.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARIES
PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MAY 2 AND JUNE 6, 1902.

J. K. Bissell

THE NEWSPAPERS OF LANCASTER COUNTY.

MINUTES OF MAY MEETING.

THE PHILADELPHIA AND LANCASTER TURNPIKE.

MINUTES OF JUNE MEETING.

VOL. VI. NO. 8.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1902.

TO VIMU
AMMORILAC

The Newspapers of Lancaster County,	- - - - -	103
BY F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.		
Minutes of the May Meeting,	- - - - -	114
The Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike ; and Biograph-		
ical Sketch of Col. Matthias Slough,	- - - - -	116
BY F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.		
Minutes of the June Meeting,	- - - - -	150

THE NEWSPAPERS OF LANCASTER COUNTY.

In 1896 I was induced to attempt the compilation of a bibliography of the newspapers, magazines and other periodical issues of the press in the city of Lancaster from 1752 down to that time. Two or three previous attempts, and very successful ones, too, had been made, and much of the work had been done. In all, the names of about ninety periodicals published in the city of Lancaster between 1752 and 1885 appear in the lists found in the local histories of Mombert and Evans & Ellis. To that list I added thirty-six new names, making the total about 126.

The general subject interested me so much that I conceived the idea of compiling a similar bibliography of the newspapers and other periodicals, which have been published in the county of Lancaster, outside the city. No labor has been spared during the past five years in attempting to make my list as complete as possible. Many names have been found by direct research, but many have also been discovered accidentally, and when least expected. Latterly my list has not grown very rapidly, which fact, while not a sign that everything has been brought to light, is nevertheless evidence that the field has been pretty thoroughly gleaned, and that while fresh discoveries are certain to be found by other searchers, they are not likely to present themselves in large numbers.

In my previous article I took occasion to allude to the wonderful literary activity displayed in this city, beginning with 1752. It was almost phenomenal. To the 126 names on my list

in 1896 I have been able to add forty more, bringing the total number to about 166.

But, while the county capital was, of course, for many years far ahead of the country in the number of its newspapers, as the people began to found towns and villages, the same literary activity began to manifest itself in them also, until there is to-day not a village of 500 inhabitants that has not now, or has had some time in the past, its local newspaper. My list contains about 104 names, which, when added to those published in the city, make a total for both city and county of about 270. Not the least surprising part of all this is that for nearly one hundred years after the first printing press was established here this was largely a German community. For a time at least there seems to have been more reading done in the German language than in English. In fact, the Dunkers (German) were the first people in Pennsylvania who availed themselves of the art preservative. Not only was the first newspaper printed in Lancaster, of which a cut is reproduced at the head of this article, printed both in the German and English languages, but at various times thereafter three German papers were published in this city at the same time. That was the case in 1809, 1826, 1829 and in 1830. Dr. Franklin, in a tirade against the Germans, written in 1753, says there were more German than English papers published in the province at that time. The first almanac published in the State was a German one issued by Christopher Sauer, in 1738. In the year 1779 three almanacs were printed in Lancaster, and all in the German language. All this is wandering away from my general subject, but I could not resist the temptation to show how far from the truth is the charge so often made, sometimes through preju-

1568

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Württembergische Zeitung:

Ein Ritter-Begriff

262

Hauptfächern Aus-
ländisch- und Kirche-
mischen Neuigkeiten.

Den 28^{em} July, 1752.



LANCASTER
GAZETTE:

OR,
I.P.E.

Most material FOREIGN
and HOME NEWS.

July 28, 1752.

Emperors, den 14. Jan.
S M P R N A. January 14.
The French Consul has taken up all the
Ships of that Nation, to fail to Volo and
Salmonica in the Archipelago, to take in
sixty Thousand Bushels of Corn for France. When
the Ambassador at Constantinople askedLeave
for such an Exportation, the grand Signor's An-
swer was, that he not only consented to it, but
that it should also be Duty free, gladly embrace-
d. The French Consul has taken up all the
Ships of that Nation, to fail to Volo and
Salmonica in the Archipelago, to take in
sixty Thousand Bushels of Corn for France. When
the Ambassador at Constantinople askedLeave
for such an Exportation, the grand Signor's An-
swer was, that he not only consented to it, but
that it should also be Duty free, gladly embrace-
d.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN LANCASTER, 1752.
'Whence comes common Sectarian'

dice, but more frequently through ignorance, that the German settlers in this county were an ignorant class of people.

Recurring once more to the claim that Lancaster city and county were among the most important literary centres in the thirteen colonies, I may mention as an evidence of that claim that there were 36 separate printing establishments in Lancaster county during the seventy-eight years between 1752 and 1830, while Philadelphia had only 47 in the 102 years between 1728 and 1730, or eleven more than we had, although she had the advantage of twenty-four more years to her credit.

But that is not all. Our Lancaster printers were the most skillful of any in the State. I find, on page 161 of Tench Coxe's "View of the United States," published in 1794, this significant passage: "The first premium for excellency in printing was adjudged by the Pennsylvania Manufacturing Society to the publishers of a book in the German language in the inland town of Lancaster." I would reward the man or woman handsomely who could inform me who the Lancaster printer was who did such excellent work, and the name of the book that won the prize.

I am free to express the opinion that Lancaster city and county have jointly published more newspapers and periodicals of various kinds during the past 150 years than any other community of equal area and population in the whole United States. The number is about 270, so far as ascertained, with doubtless an unknown number still to be added. Of course, we cannot compare in this particular with the great cities like New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. We are a rural population, only one-fourth of our inhabitants residing in this city, and this makes our record all the more remarkable. Few

of us ever dwell on this matter, although the subject is one for congratulation and pride. These facts prove most conclusively that the people of this city and county have been a reading community almost from the time of the first settlements here. The first German newspaper published in Pennsylvania was Franklin's little venture in 1732, but which extended to only two numbers. Then came Christopher Sauer's paper, in 1739, published only once a month, and then there was no other paper published in the State, in the German tongue, until the bi-lingual sheet of Miller & Holland, in 1752. This city was, therefore, third in the field in the German language, unless we make an exception to a short-lived one, like Franklin's, published in Philadelphia, in 1748, by G. Armbruster, known only by name, not a single copy being in existence, so far as known.

An interesting communication from Mr. D. B. Landis, of Lancaster, directs my attention to the fact that about twenty-five years ago there was a very active outbreak in amateur journalism in this city and county, and he gives the names of about twenty well-known young men who issued amateur journals of more or less merit. All these have gone out of existence, but they served the purpose in some instances of converting amateurs into professionals, and thus served a good purpose. The names of as many of these journals as I was able to secure have found place in my lists:

- 1811. The Susquehanna Watchman (or Waterman), Columbia.
- 1813. The Pilot, Marietta.
- 1814. The Marietta Pilot, Marietta.
- 1815. The Village Chronicle, Marietta.
- 1816. The Columbia Spy, Columbia.
The Ladies' Visitor, Marietta.
- 1819. The Columbian, Marietta.
- 1821. The Hornet, Paradise.
- 1823. The Monitor, Columbia.

1826. *The Pioneer*, Marietta.

1827. *The Strasburg Herald*, W. J. Kauffman.

1828. *Anti-Masonic Herald*, New Holland.

1829. *Columbia Courant*, *Columbia*.
Der Frohliche Bothschafter und Bertheidiger der allgemeinen, oder Universal Erlosung, a German monthly advocating the doctrines of the Universalists, published by Grosch & Meyers, Marietta.

1830. *Columbia Spy* and Literary Register. Changed to *Columbia Spy* and *Lancaster* and *York County Record*, June 23, 1831.

1831. *The Palladium*, *Bethania*. The Olive Branch, Elizabethtown.

1832. *The Columbia Hive*, *Columbia*.

1833. *Marietta Advocate*, Marietta.

1840. *The Plaindealer*, Col. Forney (Revived). *The Columbian*, *Columbia*. *The Ant*, Marietta.

1841. *The Orb*, Marietta.

1842. *The Washingtonian*, Marietta.

1843. *The Protector*, *Columbia*.

1844. *The Argus*, not known.

1846. *The Manheim Sentinel*, Manheim. The Weekly Planet and Rapho Banner, Manheim. The Columbian, second of the name, *Columbia*.

1849. *The Guardian* (Monthly), Lancaster.

1850. *The Strasburg Bee*, Strasburg. A paper whose name is not known, Earlvile.

1854. *The Mt. Joy Herald*, Mt. Joy. The Marietta Register, Marietta.

1855. *The Little Missionary*, place of publication not known.

1857. *The Strasburg Herald*, Strasburg.

1864. *The Trumpet*, Elizabethtown.

1865. *The Mariettian*, Marietta.

1866. *The Herald*, *Columbia*.

1868. *Columbia Daily Spy*, *Columbia*. The Voice of Truth, *Columbia*. The Morning Telegram (Daily), *Columbia*.

1869. The Elizabethtown Chronicle.
1870. Strasburg Free Press, Strasburg.
The Merrimac (or Memorial),
of Colerain township; only
two numbers published. Weekly
Courant, Columbia.
1872. The Independent, Columbia. The
Star and News, Mount Joy.
The Democrat, Columbia.
1873. The Clarion, New Holland.
1873. (About.) The Cabalistic Journal,
Highville.
1874. West Earl Banner, Farmersville.
1875. Milton Grove News, Milton
Grove. The Lititz Gazette,
Lititz. The Adamstown Press,
Adamstown. Ephrata Moun-
tain Echo, Ephrata.
1876. The Christiana Star, Christiana.
The Pleasant Grove News,
Pleasant Grove. Terre Hill
Echo, Terre Hill. Clay Town-
ship Record. The Akron Globe,
Akron. The Marietta Times,
Marietta.
1877. The Linden Hall Echo (Monthly),
Lititz. The Lititz Record,
Lititz. The Lititz Sunbeam.
The Keystone Amateur. In the
following year as The Ama-
teur, Jr. The Philomath, Raw-
lingsville. A stamp and coin
journal, edited by J. Galen.
This paper may be identical
with The Coin Journal (1879)
credited to the city in the list
of 1896.
1878. The Ephrata Review, Ephrata.
The Amateur, Landisville.
1879. The Guiding Star (Monthly),
Farmersville. Human Culture,
(Monthly), Farmersville.
1881. The Lititz Express, Lititz.
1883. The Christiana Ledger, Christi-
ana. The Landisville Vigil.
1884. The Florin Independent. Milton
Grove Progress. Bainbridge
Banner. The Voice, Vogan-
ville.

1885. The Quarryville Sun, Quarryville. Sporting Hill Messenger. Salunga Siftings. Maytown Monitor.

1886. Terre Hill Standard

1888. The Manheim Sun. The Ephrata News. The Columbia Daily News. Pastor's Helper Monthly.

1890. The Denver Press.

1891. The Prohibitionist.

1892. Terre Hill Times, Terre Hill.

1893. The Daily Columbia Spy.
The Rural Banner, Creswell.

1894. Our Monitor, Quarryville.

1895. The Review (Monthly), Marietta.

1896. The Ephrata Reporter. The Akron Item.

1897. A paper at Brownstown, name not known.

1898. Strasburg Weekly News, Strasburg.

1899. The Justice of the Peace (Monthly), Strasburg. Gospel Banner, Elizabethtown.

1901. The Saturday Bulletin, Florin.

1902. The Miller Monthly, West Earl.

Additional Titles to be Added to Lancaster City Publications.

In Volume 1, No. 3, of the publications of the Lancaster County Historical Society, appeared a bibliography of the newspapers, magazines and other periodical publications issued in Lancaster from 1752 until 1896. That list embraces about 126 titles. The opinion was then advanced that if a complete roster of all the publications that had their birth in the city of Lancaster was possible it would be found that fully 140 titles would be found in it.

During the time that has elapsed since the previous list was made and published, I have been persistent in my efforts to enlarge it, and I have now the pleasure of adding the following additional names. It will be seen that my predicted 140 titles have been reached and exceeded.

In my former list our earliest paper, the one issued in 1752, the title page of which is reproduced above, was catalogued simply as "The Lancaster Gazette." That, however, was only one of its titles. It was a bi-lingual paper, printed both in the German and English languages. In the beginning it was published by H. Miller and S. Holland, "at the New Printing Office on King street." A few months later it was issued by S. Holland alone, at the post-office, on King street. It was a small folio sheet, 13x8½ inches.

1777. The Pennsylvania Packet. Issued by Congress in this city from November 29, 1777, to June 17, 1778.

1778. Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungsblat, Oder Sammlung so wohl Auswartig als Einheimischer neuigkeiten. At this time the British forces under Lord Howe occupied Philadelphia. At the instance of some prominent German citizens, The Supreme Executive Council of the State paid for 500 copies.

1790. Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser, founded by Robert and William Dickson. (File in State Library. (1792 and 1794 are erroneously given as the dates of the founding of this paper.)

1799. Der Lancaster Correspondent.

1805. The Constitutional Democrat, founded in July, 1805, by John Matthews. File in State Library. Der Wahrer Republikaner.

1808. The Times. Published by Hugh Hamilton.

1812. The Pennsylvania Farmer.

1820. Deutsches Wochenblatt.

1825. The Republican Telegraph. Published by Matthew Kelly.

1826. Der Christlicher Hausfreund (Semi-Monthly). Published by Joseph Ehrenfried.

1828. The Political Sentinel. Edited

by James Cameron, near the Farmers' Bank.

1830. Standard of Liberty. Published by Herman Villee and Luther Richards. Masonic Opponent, published by Cyrus S. Jacobs.

1833. Marietta Advocate and Farmers' and Mechanics' Intelligencer, founded by William McCay. File in State Library.

1835. (about). Penn Township Banner.

1840. The Plain Dealer. Renewed. The Log Cabin.

1846. The Family Physician. G. B. M.

1875. The High School Journal, Lancaster. The Monthly Budget (High School).

1878. The Lancaster Commercial. Published by Jos. Wolfersberger.

1879. School Days.

1884. The Busy Worker, Lancaster. The Plumed Knight.

1886. The Criterion.

1892. School Forum.

1894. The Hullabaloo.

1896. High School News (Monthly), Lancaster. Sporting Life.

1899. The National Military and Naval Journal.

1900. The American Whip.

1901. The Rostrum (Monthly). The Courier, Y. M. C. A. organ.

1902. The Literary Magazine, only two numbers issued. Lancaster's Young Men, Young Men's Christian Association Organ. The Temple.

It has been impossible to verify the dates of publication of the subjoined list of publications in the hurry in which this article goes to press. Nor is it possible to classify them as between the city and county, some belonging to the one and some to the other:

Uncle Sam.
The Dwarf.
The Bankers' Review.
The Matrimonial Times.

The Light, A. P. A.
College Days.
Chi Phi Chacquette.
The Owl.
The Comet.

I regret that I am compelled to allow so many names of newspapers appear in this list without being able to assign the dates of publication. Most of these had an existence of a few months or years only. Files were perhaps not preserved by any one save the publishers, and in some cases not even by them. This fact, however, does not invalidate the integrity of the list. The papers were published and people still remember them, without being able to recall the year of their publication. The unexpected is continually turning up, and in time the dates of all those which have none assigned to them in the list will be found. This fact should be borne in mind, and as a date comes to light it should at once be assigned to the proper publication, and in this way the list of dates be made fairly complete. In a number of cases, where papers were not well known, several dates were found. In such instances the one deemed most nearly accurate is given.

From the very nature of the case, errors must occur where the paper named has not been either seen by the writer or where there is a conflict of dates. In such instances the only thing to do is to make choice of one and let it go at that. Accuracy of dates is, of course, extremely important, especially in the older and least known publications, but the fact that a certain named paper was once published here is even of more consequence than the exact period of its issue.

F. R. D.



Minutes of May Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., May 2, 1902.

The usual monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon in the Young Men's Christian Association building. In the absence of President Steinman, Vice President Evans presided.

The minutes of the April meeting were read, and, on motion, approved. The following new members, whose applications were received at the April meeting, were duly elected to membership: Miss Mary S. Goodell, of Lancaster; Rev. Horace Edward Hayden, of Wilkesbarre; Eliza Jane Diller, of Weldon, Montgomery county, and the Carnegie Library, at Pittsburg.

The donations to the library consisted of a number of books given by Vice President Evans, and several volumes of the "Public Papers of Governor Clinton," of New York, and various exchanges. The librarian was authorized to have certain publications in numbers bound. The Committee on the Purchase of New Books reported that Kuhn's "German and Swiss Settlements in Pennsylvania," Stapleton's "Huguenot Settlers in Pennsylvania," Dr. Geiser's "Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Sachse's "German Sectarians" and the "History of the Scotch Irish," had been procured and added to the library. The Society is also in treaty for the purchase of a new book-case, and about fifty additional volumes.

The paper of the day was a bibliography of the newspapers, magazines and other periodicals issued in Lancas-

ter county outside of the city of Lancaster, prepared by F. R. Diffenderffer, by which it was shown that from 1811 until the present time nearly or quite one hundred publications saw the light in the county. The writer also added about twenty additional names to the list of publications issued in the city of Lancaster, bringing the list to about 160 distinct titles. Including city and county the total number of titles is about 260, an almost incredible number for a county so small and so largely rural as our own. A number of additional names were contributed by the members present. A good deal of discussion followed on this interesting and important subject.

The badges recently ordered by the Society were shown, and the best method of distribution among the memoirs was discussed. The meeting was full of interest to the members present. The June meeting will be the last one of the season, the Society, as usual, holding none during July and August. The meeting on motion adjourned.

The Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike.

I am indebted to His Honor, Judge Charles I. Landis, for a knowledge of the pamphlet which I propose to read to the Society to-day, and to the courtesy of Mr. John S. Witmer, the present owner, for permission to read and reprint it. While not of great historical importance, it is, nevertheless, interesting, for various reasons. First, because it was written 108 years ago by a man who at that time and for more than a quarter of a century before was one of the best-known citizens of this city; because of its bearing on the building of the best-known road in our county and State at that period,* because it introduces a number of other well-known historical characters; because, if we accept its statements, it shows that the good men and true of that early day were sometimes capable of a little sharp practice when the occasion offered; because it was once the property of our most noted member of the Bar at that period, Judge Jasper Yeates, whose well-known signature is written on the title page, and, lastly, because it is probably unique, the only copy that is in existence to-day. Its ownership since it saw the light is easily traced. First came Judge Yeates. How it passed from his possession into that of David Witmer, one of the parties with whom it concerns itself, I am unable to say, but, laid away and carefully preserved, for it has to-day all the freshness of

* In 1807, Albert Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, in a report made to the Senate of the United States, said: "The Lancaster road, the first extensive turnpike that was completed in the United States, is the first link of the great western communication from Philadelphia."

ink and paper it can have had when it came from the press, it now turns up in the ownership of a great-grandson of David Witmer, towards whom its shafts are in part directed.

The Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company was chartered by the General Assembly of the State on April 9, 1792. The act of incorporation is called "An Act to enable the Governor of this Commonwealth to incorporate a company for making an artificial road from the city of Philadelphia to the Borough of Lancaster." The very title does away with the general illusion that this turnpike was a State road, built by the State and owned by the same. The act of incorporation consists of a preamble and twenty-two sections, the whole being a document of more than six thousand words. I shall not inflict on this Society even so much as an abstract of this formidable legislative document, but I will refer to some things concerning it not generally known, and which are also interesting in themselves.

The preamble recites that as great quantities of country products and foreign merchandise are daily transported between Philadelphia and the western counties of the State, roads are required over which wagons can travel without cutting into the soil, but which can be built only at great expense, but believing private enterprise is ready to undertake the task, the Legislature lends its encouragement.

The first section, therefore, appoints Elliston Perot, Henry Drinker, junior, Owen Jones, junior, Israel Whelen and Cadwallader Evans, of the city (of Philadelphia), Gentlemen, and Edward Hand, John Hubley, Paul Zantzinger, Matthias Slough and Abraham Witmer, of the county of Lancaster, Gentlemen, Commissioners to procure the proper books and receive the names of such

persons who desire to subscribe for stock and enter the same in the books. The shares were to be \$300 each. Stock books were to be opened in Philadelphia and Lancaster. Publication of the same was to be made in three Philadelphia papers, one of them in the German language, and in the paper printed in Lancaster, the Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung und Anzeige-Nachrichten. Six hundred shares were to be allotted to Philadelphia and four hundred to Lancaster, or a total capitalization of \$300,000. After —— shares were subscribed for the Governor was authorized to issue letters patent creating the subscribers into a corporate body by the name of "The President, Managers and Company of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road." Authority was also given to increase the capital stock, if found necessary. As the road proved to be a more costly affair than it was thought it would be, new stock was subsequently issued. How much, or how often, I do not know, but a final issue of 100 shares was made on February 5, 1796.

The seven named commissioners were authorized and directed to give notice in four papers when the stockholders should meet and organize the company by electing a President, twelve Managers, a Treasurer, and such officers as might be necessary. Each share of stock was to have one vote, but no man more than ten votes, no matter how much stock he had. The second Monday of each year was to be annual election time. A seal and certificates of stock were to be provided. The certificates were, of course, transferable. The officers were to meet at stated periods for the transaction of business, and accurate minutes were to be kept.

The rights and privileges of the Company were of the most liberal

kind. It could exercise the right of eminent domain. The officers and those in their employ were authorized to enter into and upon all lands, tenements and enclosures through and over which the road might pass, to examine the ground and the stone-quarries and beds of gravel and other material necessary to build the road, and to survey and fix any route which in their judgment combined the most desirable qualities, "from the west side of the Schuylkill river, opposite to the city of Philadelphia, so as to pass near to or over the bridge on Brandywine Creek, near Downingtown, and from thence to Witmer's Bridge on Conestoga Creek, and from thence to the east end of King Street, where the buildings cease in the Borough of Lancaster."

Permission was also given the Company, including the managers, workmen, engineers and laborers, to enter upon and into the adjoining lands, first giving notice to the owners of their intention, but being held responsible for any damage they might do, and for taking away such building material as they might need.

They had authority to build bridges over the Schuylkill, Conestoga and other water courses, wherever it was necessary. They were to lay out a road fifty feet wide, "twenty-one feet of which in breadth should be bedded with wood, stone, gravel, or any other hard substance, well compacted," arched in the middle and sloping to the sides at an angle of not more than four degrees, and forever keep the same in good repair.

After ten miles of the road were finished westward from Philadelphia, they were authorized to erect gates and collect toll, and so with each succeeding ten miles. The rate of tolls was fixed by the charter. They put the rate at less for wide-wheeled wagons than for

narrow-wheeled ones, from December until May, showing those early legislators knew something about road-building. The Legislature passed a road law favoring wide tires at its last session. They also limited the freight that might be carried on one wagon during the spring season to seven tons, but allowed eight tons the rest of the year. Not more than eight horses could be attached to any one wagon, and only six if the tread of the tires was not more than nine inches.

The road was to be kept in good order, under severe penalties. A rigid system of keeping the accounts of the road was also prescribed, and these had to be annually submitted to the stockholders at their general meeting. If it was found that the original amount of stock authorized would not suffice to build the road, the Managers were authorized to increase the number of shares to an extent deemed sufficient to complete the road. This was evidently done twice or oftener. The original amount of stock sold was only \$300,000; on February 10, 1796, 100 additional shares were put on the market; but these two amounts realized only \$330,000, and, as the total cost was \$465,000, there are still 450 shares, or \$135,000 to be accounted for.

I am indebted to the courtesy of J. Watson Ellmaker for permission to print part of a letter written to his grandfather at the time subscriptions to this turnpike were taken. It not only shows with what avidity the 400 shares at first allotted to Lancaster county were subscribed for by our people, but it also shows what considerable sums of money were available among our citizens for public enterprises at that early day. Here is the portion of the letter bearing on the turnpike:

"Near Lancaster, 5th June, 1792.
"Respected Friend.

* * * * I never seen men so wet with sweat in an harvest field, as some were in the crowd to-day to subscribe to the Turnpike Road,—most of them did not think that the work of it—for many did not get in for a share which warmed their minds as well as their bodies—the Subscriptions closed with 400 shares to-day about 11 o'clock.

"Am with respect thy fd.,
"WILL. WEBB.*

"Mr. ELLMAKER,
"Near New Holland."

Half-yearly dividends were also to be declared to the stockholders, if fairly earned, after all the current expenses had been paid. Every third year, from the date of incorporation until two years after the road was completed, the Managers were required to place an abstract of their accounts before the General Assembly, including all the most minute details. It seems the rights of stockholders were far more carefully guarded in those days than now, when there appears to be no corporate liability worth speaking of.

If, at the end of two years after the completion of the road, the tolls prescribed did not yield a net revenue sufficient to declare a six per cent.

* William Webb was a prominent member of the Quaker colony of Lancaster city. His grandfather, James Webb, was a member of the Provincial Legislature for twenty-two years, between 1747 and 1771. He was also one of the County Committee of Correspondence in 1774. He was the owner of the land on which Knapp's Villa stands. Either he or his son, James Webb, Jr., built the house. William Webb's father was James Webb, Jr., who was Sheriff of the county in 1767, 1768 and 1769. William was a member of the Legislature in 1790, 1800 and 1806. He was a Director of the Poor in 1799, the year in which the Poorhouse farm was bought. This family of Webbs must not be confounded with that of another James Webb, a mason by trade, and a Tory in politics, who lived in Lancaster at the same time with the above.

dividend on the cost of the road, the Managers were authorized to increase the rate of tolls sufficiently to produce that result. If tolls to the extent of more than fifteen per cent. on the investment should be realized, then the tolls were to be reduced until no more than fifteen per cent. was obtained.

Hand-boards were required to be put up at all points where the turnpike intersected cross roads, telling the names and distances of the places to which such roads led. Milestones were required to be placed on the side of the road, beginning at the distance of one mile west of the Schuylkill, and extending thence to the borough of Lancaster, on which the distance each stone was from the west bounds of Philadelphia, and handboards telling the distances to the nearest gates and turnpikes. All wagons and drivers of vehicles of all kinds were required to turn to the right-hand side of the road, under a fine of two dollars for every violation of the rule.

The last section of the charter enacts that if the company does not begin the work within a period of two years after the passage of the act, or not complete the road within seven years, the Commonwealth may rescind the franchises.

The Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike to-day exists only in name. The roadbed, it is true, still remains, but the legal road and name have disappeared. For many years it was a profitable investment to those who put money into it. Sixty-one taverns to sixty-two miles of road gives some idea of the travel that once passed over it. Across the roadbed once went thousands of great Conestoga teams and wagons, carrying all manner of merchandise to the western part of the State, and bringing back flour on the return trip.

But the turnpike was unable to com-

pete with the iron road and the iron horse. When the latter came to the front the former went to the rear. It became unprofitable and the tolls hardly sufficed to keep it in repair. An Act of the Legislature authorized the stockholders to sell it. In 1873 the western end, from below Kinzer to the city line, about fifteen miles, was sold for \$10,000. The men who bought it changed the name to that of the Lancaster and Williamstown turnpike. It is a profitable road to-day.

In 1879 the Eastern, from Paoli or thereabouts, was sold to A. J. Cassatt and others. It is a turnpike still and enters Philadelphia at Lancaster avenue. Other sections became so badly dilapidated that they were abandoned by the owners, taken up by Chester county and made free. In 1899 another sale was made. This time the section sold was that between Coatesville and Exton, twelve miles, for \$12,000, to A. M. Taylor and others, of New York, who were working in accord with the West Chester and Philadelphia Traction Company. Not being able to complete their arrangements, however, the section was also taken over by Chester county and made a free highway.

With the relation of a curious incident that occurred during the early surveys for the road, I will have done with my remarks concerning it. A surveying party was sent out from Philadelphia to work in the neighborhood of Paoli. A week passed and nothing was heard from it. After waiting ten days a rescuing party was sent after the lost surveyors. They were found in good condition and hard at work. All this 100 years ago and within twenty miles of Philadelphia!

The occasion that called out the pamphlet of Colonel Slough, which I will presently read, was an act of injustice which he believed had been

done him, as well as discourteous treatment received by him from some or all of the other members of the committee on construction, or managers, who beside himself were Edward Hand, Andrew Graff, Abraham Witmer, David Witmer. It appears the road was laid out into five parts, or sections, and one of these sections allotted to each manager, who was to superintend the construction. To Colonel Slough was allotted the superintendency of the western end of the turnpike.

Much of the work at the eastern end appears to have been done at the time, but on the Fourth and Fifth sections there was still some to do. A meeting was called by the Managers, at Downingtown, to receive bids for the unfinished work, in October, 1793. Sealed proposals were invited. Slough, it appears, went to the meeting, carrying with him a bid from one, Michael Fouts, of Strasburg, for making the road through "Hand's Pass."* He was given to understand that nothing would be done until the following day and that there was plenty of time for handing in the bid, or for changing it meanwhile. But it appears that contractors were contractors even in those earlier and better days of the Republic, and that while Slough was taking his time for submitting the bid, the other four Superintendents actually gave the contract to David Witmer, one of their number.

The pamphlet does not assail the Chairman of the Board, General Hand, in direct terms, but if the statements made are true, and we have no evidence to show they are not, General Hand does not appear in an enviable

* "Hand's Pass" was a cut or pass on the line of the road, a few miles west of Coatesville. Why so named I do not know. There was a tavern with a ghostly reputation there, after the road was built.

light. For some reason it is evident that it was determined the bid Slough had should not be considered. It could not have been because it was thought the bid was his own, made in another man's name, or that he, being a Superintendent, could not be a bidder, because David Witmer, also a Manager, got the contract. There was bad blood between Slough and the Witmers. This is not only shown by the altercation between them at the meeting where the events related in the pamphlet occurred, but at other places in his little book he openly denounces the two brothers and accuses them of unfair dealings towards the stockholders.

Colonel Slough's Pamphlet.

.....
J. Yeates.
TO THE
STOCKHOLDERS
OF THE
PHILADELPHIA AND LANCASTER
TURNPIKE ROAD.

Printed in the Year 1794.
.....

When a man is appointed to attend to and transact the business of an individual, is a society or company of men, it becomes, in my idea of things, his duty to attend to it with the same diligence and economy as if it was his own; and, you having done me the honor, at the last election to appoint me one of your Managers of the Turnpike Road, I took upon me the trust reposed, and have given that attention to it, which the business, in my humble opinion, required: Having been absent at the time of election, and necessarily obliged to attend to some of my

own affairs, it put it out of my power to give that attention, which I thought it my duty to do, until the month of February last, when I went to Philadelphia, and attended a number of meetings of the Board of Managers, at their office, until the 12th day of March, on which day it was unanimously agreed, that the distance of the road should be laid off into five districts, and a Superintendant should be appointed for each, whose duty it should be to attend to the making the road, agreeably to written instructions, which were agreed on, made out, and handed to each of the Superintendants; and, however justifiable it was to appoint, to this duty, some of those who were at the same time your Managers, I had the honor of being appointed the Superintendant of the Fifth District. I left Philadelphia on the 15th day of March; arrived at home on the 16th; and commenced my operation on the 20th, with few men; their number increasing daily, I carried on the work according to my best judgment and abilities; and, had I agreed to say YES, to every proposition which was made by some of my colleagues, as well in the attempt made by them to alter the tract of the road very materially, as some others, I should, I believe, have had the approbation of those gentlemen to this day.

But because I took upon me to judge for myself in the business, preferring a straight road for a crooked one, and having also regard to distance, which by the proposed alteration would have been considerably increased, those gentlemen have ever since, by every means in their power, endeavored to impede the business, and to do every act which they could devise to put a stop to it. The work, notwithstanding all those manœuvres and obstacles which were thrown in my way, went on very well, though very contrary to the

wishes of those gentlemen, until the malignant disorder, which raged in the city of Philadelphia, broke out, when a scarcity of money took place; the work, however, continued until the following notice was given in the Federal Gazette, calling a Meeting of the Managers of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road, on the 14th of October last, at the House of Hunt Downing, in Downing's Town. Agreeable to which, the members residing in and near this borough attended, that is to say, Edward Hand, Andrew Graff, and Abraham Witmer, Esquires, David Witmer, and myself; and were met by Richard Thomas, Esq., and Mr. Israel Whelen. At this meeting among other transactions, the following resolutions were entered into, and appears on the books of the company: "That Edward Hand, Andrew Graff, and Abraham Witmer, be a committee, vested with authority, to enter into contracts with individuals, for completing such parts of the Turnpike Road, in the Fourth and Fifth Districts, as are not yet done, and for the perfecting of which, contracts have not already been entered into by the respective Superintendants, or Committees heretofore appointed by the Board, or shall hereafter be entered into by the Superintendants, with the approbation of the before-mentioned committee, or a majority of them: It is also resolved, that the same committee have authority to contract for erecting the several Bridges, that may be necessary in the Districts aforesaid.

"Extracts from the Minutes.

"EDWARD HAND, Chairman."

In consequence of the foregoing resolutions, the following notice was given on the 17th of October:

"The subscribers give public notice, that they will collectively or individually receive proposals in writing (sealed up) until the first day of November

ext, on which day the contracts will positively be closed, for quarrying, hauling and laying the stone, for a perch of road, by the same person; for quarrying and hauling the stone, for a perch of road, by the same person, for hauling and laying the stone, for a perch of road, by different persons; for perfecting the side, or summer roads and ditches, by the perch of road; for graveling the road from Witmer's Bridge to Lancaster, by the perch or rod, the gravel to be four inches thick on the surface, after the interstices between the loose stones are filled up. Also, for levelling, paving and graveling the whole of the road, through Hand's Pass, including the perfecting of the side or summer roads and ditches.

"N. B. It is supposed that a ditch on the upper or northern side only, will be necessary.

"Proposals will at the same time be received for reducing stone to gravel, from the size of a pullet's egg to that of a common pea, and covering a perch of road therewith, four inches thick: The quality of the stone intended to be reduced, to be mentioned in the proposals.

"The parties contracting, may be certain of receiving their money at the time stipulated.

"(Signed)

"EDWARD HAND,
"ANDREW GRAFF,
"ABRAHAM WITMER,
"DAVID WITMER,
"MATTHIAS SLOUGH.

"Lancaster, Oct. 17, 1793."

At the meeting on the 14th of October, it was agreed that another meeting should be held at the same place, on the 11th of November following; but it being afterwards thought better, by Mr. Whelen, that the chance of having a fuller board, by putting the meeting off a week longer, which

would bring it to the 18th of the same month. Mr. Whelen wrote to General Hand, requesting the members in and near Lancaster would agree to have it on that day, which was agreed to, and Mr. Whelen was informed by the General, that it was agreed, by the members here, that it should be on the 18th; whereupon Mr. Whelen gave notice, in the Federal Gazette, accordingly; and, agreeable to that notice, I left Lancaster, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th, and went as far as Captain M'Clelland's that evening, on my way to meet the Board of Managers, at the house of Hunt Downing, in Downing's Town, where I arrived at 12 o'clock on the 18th, I found General Hand, Andrew Graff, and Abram Witmer, Esquires, Mr. David Witmer, and Mr. Israel Whelen; and about one o'clock Richard Thomas, Esq., also arrived. About one hour after my arrival, I was called up stairs, by General Hand, in order to give him some explanation of my accounts, which I had previously rendered to the Committee, at Lancaster; after having done this, as I thought, to the satisfaction of the General, I mentioned to him, that "I supposed there would be some further proposals offered, for making the road thro' Hand's Pass; and, that if it was the case, I had one in my pocket, which I should offer, and that I was at liberty to alter it as I pleased." To which the General answered, that "he did not doubt but it would be the case from the number of people that were collecting, and that as soon as he had finished the report he was then drawing up, we would adjourn down stairs, and would there receive any proposals which should be offered." (Here it may be necessary to mention, that when I found fault with the proceedings, on the 19th in the morning, which had taken place the day before, it was thrown out, before

a number of people, that I did not mention the whole truth, alluding to my being at liberty to alter the proposals, which I meant to offer for Hand's Pass; and I will only mention, that if an alteration had taken place, it must have operated in favor of the company.) Dinner, however, was ready before the General had finished his report, and he was called to it. After dinner he returned up stairs again, and finished his report, when he called all the members present up stairs, in order to receive it, which was accordingly done. The General being appointed Chairman, and Mr. Whelen Secretary; after going through the usual forms, and the necessary entries being made, it was thought best to adjourn down stairs, in order to receive any proposals which might be offered: A good deal of conversation past, and amongst the rest, some harsh words between David Witmer and myself, to whom I offered to take any bet he would mention, that not one hundred rod of his road was made according to his instructions; after which a calm took place, during which, a Mr. Humphreys, handed a paper to Mr. Graff, who handed it to General Hand, which, on being read, contained proposals for making the road through Hand's Pass, for the sum of two thousand seven hundred pounds: This proposition was read by every member present, and nothing was said respecting it. Some time after this, Colonel James Moore, of Chester County, and two other gentlemen arrived, who had given in their proposals for making the same road, on the first of November last, at Lancaster; but the business not being rightly understood by them, they were desired to attend, on the ground, on the 18th, where they should be met by the committee on that day, and that the business could afterwards be settled at Downing's

Town. These gentlemen waited the greatest part of the day on the ground, and not being met by any person or persons, with whom they could confer on the subject, they, in the evening came to Downing's Town, where Colonel Moore mentioned their having waited agreeable to appointment, but as no person met them they thought best to attend at Downing's Town: A good deal of conversation passed between Colonel Moore and the Managers on the subject; and other two gentlemen remained silent. Among other things Colonel Moore said, that "it was a difficult matter to ascertain what would be a reasonable price for making that part of the road, and he thought it would be best for the Managers to say what they would give?" This he was told would frustrate the object they had in view, which was to get it done on the cheapest terms, and that therefore he must mention the price he would make it for. To which he answered, that "it would require a little more time." General Hand replied, that "we were not in a hurry," and that "the man whose offer was lowest, and such as was thought reasonable, would certainly get the job." To this David Witmer added, that "the business would not be finished that evening, and that he had time to consider of it until the morning." The General then said, "certainly." All this made me very easy with respect to the proposal, which I had in my pocket, signed, and handed to me by Mr. Michael Fouts at Strasburgh. Supper came in, and before it was quite over, General Hand was called out by David Witmer; General Hand soon called out Mr. Whelen; Mr. Whelen returned and called out Mr. Thomas, both of whom soon returned into the room, and told Mr. Graff and Mr. Abraham Witmer that they were wanted out of doors;

they went out, and General Hand, Mr. Graff, Mr. A. Witmer, and Mr. D. Witmer went up stairs together; after sometime they returned, when, in a smiling manner, I told General Hand, that "there was a good many secrets going forward," he said "yes, and if you come out of doors I will tell you what they are." I went out with him, and there being a number of persons in the passage, we went into Mr. Downing's garden, when he told me that "David Witmer had got the Pass;" at which I expressed my astonishment, and asked him "if he did not recollect what I told him up stairs?" (alluding to the proposal which I told him I had in my pocket) to which he answered, "you are too late." I then asked the sum Witmer was to get, he told me "two thousand four hundred pounds."

I then again told General Hand, that "I thought it very wrong, and that the person, whose proposal I had in my pocket, offered to make it for four hundred dollars less." The General again told me "I was too late." I then mentioned the matter to Mr. Whelen, who told me "he had nothing to do with it." I then mentioned it to Mr. Graff, whose answer was, that "when they went up stairs together, the General mentioned, that 'David Witmer had offered to do the Pass, for a price for which he thought he ought to have it,' and asked Abraham Witmer, 'what do you say?' when Abraham said 'yes,' and I said so, too."

Thus was the business managed, without saying a word to Colonel Moore, who was waiting to give in his proposal, in the morning of the 19th, his partner in the business, having withdrawn to another house, in order to draw them up; after having appointed him to meet the Board on the 18th, for that purpose, and without my having the least intimation of what

was going forward (which as a Manager and Superintendent I was entitled to, or whence the use of my name to the advertisement) a species of treatment, which I could not silently submit to, and, therefore, as soon as the gentlemen arose from their beds, I handed Mr. Fouts's proposal to General Hand, which was handed to the other gentlemen, and nothing was said. Colonel Moore lodged in the house, and on his coming down stairs, in the morning, which was very early, I asked him "if he knew Hand's Pass was disposed of?" He said, "no, it is impossible!" I told him "it certainly was so, and that I had my information from General Hand;" "then I think myself very ill treated, as I expect the other two gentlemen (meaning his partners) here every moment, to present their proposals." Colonel Moore told the General what he had heard, and asked him "if it was so?" the General said "it was;" when Colonel Moore repeated, "that he thought himself ill treated." Soon after this the gentlemen concerned with Colonel Moore appeared, when they were told by Colonel Moore what was done, and they also thought themselves very ill treated. Colonel Moore then called the General out of the room, the General soon returned, and mentioned, that "the Colonel had offered to make the road through Hand's Pass, for two thousand two hundred pounds;" when David Witmer laughed aloud, and said, "well, if he offers it for something less, maybe I will let him have it." Colonel Moore looked at him with disdain, and said, "no, I will not take it from you," went to his horse, mounted him, and rode to the Turk's-Head, to attend the Court, of which he is one of the Judges, saying, "you will probably hear more from me on this subject."

Thus is this piece of road disposed of, to a person who is probably a fa-

vorite, at one hundred and fifty pounds more than Mr. Michael Fouts, of Strasburgh, offered to make it for, and for two hundred pounds more than what Colonel Moore offered to do it for. That all men are liable to err, I readily acknowledge; and, if I have erred, in any instance, from the novelty of the business, or from a desire to forward it, I have the consolation to say, that I can lay my hand on my heart, and declare, that I, in no instance, wantonly sported with one shilling of the Company's money. But, what good reason can be given, for sinking this sum of your money? I can think of none, except it is to indulge a certain anonymous writer, in the news-paper, some months since, who, after extolling the merit of Mr. David Witmer, in a most extraordinary manner, goes on to say, "That he thinks him justly entitled to a compliment of four or five hundred pounds, from the Company, for his extraordinary exertions." Of this piece, I believe, it will not be very difficult, to prove Mr. Witmer, himself, the author, and that he got the favor of a gentleman in the neighbourhood to form it for him. I wish not to rob Mr. Witmer of the least merit, and therefore, readily confess, that a great deal of work is done in the Fourth District, but that it is to be ascribed to the extraordinary exertions of the Superintendant, I deny; and had the writer above alluded to, told you what is evidently the case, and may be seen on taking a view of the country, and the fields through which the Fourth District extends; I have passed along it several times, and found, I think, but four or five small fields, which were ploughed the last season, and have grain sowed upon them. Hence it is a fact, which cannot be contradicted, that owing to the barrenness of this soil, and the inhabitants finding

that more money was to be made by working on the turnpike, they abandoned their fields, and the whole country adjoining to the road, bent their whole attention to it: In addition to this, it must be observed, that the necessary stones for making the road, lay either on the tract, or within a few rods of it, and that there was no necessity for quarrying of them, or for hauling them any considerable distance; all that was necessary, was, to send some hands to a small distance, with crow-bars and picks to raise the stones out of their beds, to have a few sledges to break some of them, and they were ready to put into the wagon or cart; whereas in the Fifth District, the whole of the stones are and must be taken out of the ground, at a very heavy expense; for which purpose there is also a considerable quantity of powder necessary; the quarries, in some instances, difficult to find, and those at a considerable distance from the tract.

From all which, it is reasonable to suppose, that a mile of road, in this District, must be attended with much heavier expense, than in that of the Fourth District. Mr. Witmer says, the whole of the road through his District, extending twelve miles, is completed. I say so too, excepting the most difficult parts of it, which he has taken care to leave to the last.

About one mile and a-half of the road, in the Fifth District is paved, stones sufficient are quarried to pave about four miles more, the timber, to the extent of seven miles is taken up by the roots, and there remains about three quarters of a mile, from which the timber has to be removed, in like manner, in the whole of the Fifth District. This is not the case with respect to the timber of the Fourth District, as I much question if one dozen trees or grubs are taken up by the roots in the

whole of it. The road in the Fifth District, to the extent above mentioned, is formed, and ready to receive the stones, except in a few instances, where some earth has to be removed.

For the carrying on and doing this work, I have drawn from the Treasury, the sum of six thousand two hundred and seventy-three pounds, or thereabout, and it will take about thirteen hundred pounds more, to discharge some arrearages, for quarrying and hauling stones, &c.

Mr. Witmer has drawn from the Treasury, the sum of at least, twenty-six thousand dollars (his arrearages I will not venture to guess at) for the work he has done; which work will in all probability require a number of men annually to clear it of the sprouts which will come forth from the stumps which remain in the ground. This I mention because they have already come through the pavement; and how will it be with the side or summer roads where the stumps are innumerable?

Here I would willingly rest this disagreeable business did not justice to my own character, who have a family to support, call upon me to say a few words to the Two Brothers and the Family Compact: You, gentlemen, have ever since my opposition to the alteration of the road, in the Fifth District, been extremely busy, in making enquiry to know the sums of money I have drawn from the Treasury; had you confined yourselves to that principle, which ought to be adhered to by every good man, and had you not prostituted truth at the shrine of your malice, I should have treated all you said with the contempt it deserved; you have not confined your malice to yourselves, in propogating your infernal stories, but sent forth your sons and your daughters, your man servants and your maid servants,

to calumniate and traduce my character abroad.

That your actions have been, and continue to be influenced by interested motives, will further appear from the following facts, to wit: That you, David, not long since, on your return from Downing's Town, charged one of your colleagues with having been, at least, three hundred pounds out of your way, in his opposition to the alteration of the tract in the Fifth District. From this charge it is but fair to infer, that I am chargeable with a like sum by you, or probably the loss may be greater, because it tends to frustrate your design in laying out a Town, for having the County of Lancaster divided, and the Seat of Justice fixed on the spot where you live, and to have one turnpike at your Brother's Bridge, and another at your own Town; that yourself and Brother Abraham have this dear alteration of the tract much at heart; that not content with sacrificing the sum already mentioned in the contract for Hand's Pass, will appear from David's application to the Board at Philadelphia, on the 14th or 15th instant, at which Brother Abraham was present: That your design is fraught with destruction, is as evident as the sun at noon day, or why propose to the Board of Managers, some of whom have probably never seen the tract, to deviate from it, after it has cost the Company more than one thousand pounds, it being already opened, and formed the distance of seven miles, the greatest part of which is as straight as it is possible to make it, as beautiful to the view as any part of the road between the City of Philadelphia and the Borough of Lancaster, the distance considerably shorter than that which you propose.—Forbid it justice, that you should ever be indulged in your interested and destructive scheme! And,

as to your complaint, David, to the Board, a few days since, at Philadelphia, respecting the arrearages due to you, I must beg leave to correct the expression, and say, they are not due to you, but to the people who worked under your direction, and I believe them to be considerable, as I am not ignorant of the manner in which the business is managed.

Had you done justice to the cause, you are engaged in, a great deal of work would have been done this winter, had the proposals, which were handed in, on the first day of November last, been decided upon, agreeable to the notice given on the 17th of October, by persons who would not ~~ask~~ payment until it would have been convenient for the Company to pay them. The contracts for the several Bridges, ought, in a particular manner, to have been attended to, that those who took them might have prepared for the work during the winter; but, instead of this, you give it out, that there would certainly be an alteration in the road, in the Fifth District; that David would have the whole of the unfinished part to make; that I had nothing more to do with the making of it; that therefore there was no more work to be done in this District, and that if any one worked under my direction, he would certainly have no pay for it. I am a Stockholder in miniature, and having been honored with your confidence, in appointing me one of your Managers at the last election, I deem it my duty to lay before you these facts, to shew the treatment a worthy Citizen of Chester County received; the neglect shewn me, as one of your Managers, and one, who had a right to be consulted; that you may draw from them such conclusions as you may judge necessary and right, and such as may tend most to the interest of the Company.

MATTHIAS SLOUGH.
Lancaster, December 24, 1793.

Sketch of Col. Slough.

Col. Matthias Slough was for a period of half a century one of the most prominent citizens of Lancaster. Few men were better known than he, and he appears to have enjoyed the confidence of the community in an unusual degree, being in official life as often and perhaps as long as any of his local contemporaries. He was of German descent, having come to the borough of Lancaster with his father, Jacob Slough, in 1747. He was born in 1733 or 1734, but whether in Germany or America I have not been able to learn. He came here as a lad of 13 or 14 years of age. His father bought several lots in the southeast angle of Centre Square, in the year of his arrival from Henry Bostler, and built the well-remembered "Swan" tavern upon them, and opened the same for business about 1754. One authority, however, states that Bostler himself was licensed to sell liquor as early as 1741, but as he owned several other parcels of property in the borough, it is by no means certain that he kept a tavern on the site of the Swan. If he did sell liquor on that spot, it would seem that there must have been some kind of a tavern there before Jacob Slough built his. Perhaps the latter only enlarged the buildings on the premises when he bought them and better adapted them to the uses for which they were designed.

Young Slough became the landlord of this noted tavern certainly as early as 1761, and he retained the proprietorship almost continuously until 1806, when he removed from Lancaster. The first office of trust held by him was that of Assistant Burgess of the town in 1757, 1758-1760 and 1761. That he was an intelligent man and a patron of

education is demonstrated by the fact that he was one of the fifty-four charter members of the Lancaster Library Company, in 1759, which later became more widely known as the Julianna Library. He held the office of County Coroner from 1755 until 1768, being only 21 years old when he entered upon the duties of the office. Strange to say, he was also Treasurer of Lancaster county from 1763 to 1769, holding the offices of Coroner and County Treasurer at the same time.

It was while he held the former position that the famous raid of the " Paxton Boys" was made. In the well-known letter written by Edward Shippen, Esq., who was the County Prothonotary at that time, to Governor John Penn, dated December 27, 1763, he said: "Between two and three o'clock this afternoon upwards of a hundred armed men from the westward rode very fast into town, turned their horses into Mr. Slough's (an innkeeper's yard), and proceeded with the greatest precipitation to the work-house, where they stove open the door and killed all the Indians." The double duty of entertaining these murderous marauders at his hotel, unwillingly, no doubt, and afterwards, from his official position, of holding an inquest upon their bloody work, devolved upon him. I may here remark that I many times heard the story of that terrible deed related by one who, a lad of eleven years, ran to the work-house when on his way from school, and was an eye witness of what had been done.

Another dark episode in the early history of this community is also connected with the Swan Hotel. In its day it was noted for its good cheer, and many were the dances, dinners and routs held there. It was at one of these, held on May 12, 1789, than an unfortunate misunderstanding oc-

curred between Stephen Chambers, Esq., of the Lancaster Bar, and Dr. Jacob Reiger, which resulted in a duel, in which Captain Chambers was mortally wounded.

The Burgesses held their meetings at Slough's Tavern as early as June 23, 1761, and many times in later years, but they did not meet continuously in the same place.

Col. Slough was an early, if not a charter member, of the Union Fire Company, and at a meeting of the company, held on August 25, 1764, he "paid into the Treasurer's hand the sum of one pound, two shillings, which were collected by him; also five shillings, which was his fine for neglecting to summon the company to meet in June last, agreeable to the articles." The first of the quarterly banquets of the Union Company was held in 1791 at Slough's tavern.

He was the recipient of public honors at the hands of his fellow-citizens almost continuously from his first entrance into public office until he moved away. In 1773 he was first elected a member of the House of Representatives; he was re-elected in 1774, 1775, 1777, 1780, 1781, 1782 and 1783. This, be it remembered, was also one of the most trying periods in our history.

This brings us down to and into the period of the Revolutionary struggle. A man of Col. Slough's prominence and activities was certain to be found at the front when the outbreak came, and even during the preliminary period of preparation. Of course, Col. Slough was found training with all the other prominent men of the borough in the ranks of the friends of independence. In pursuance of a letter received at Lancaster from the Committee of Correspondence, at Philadelphia, a meeting of the citizens of this place was called on June 15, 1774, to

protest against the invasion of the rights of American citizens by the mother country, at which meeting Edward Shippen, Esq., George Ross, Esq., Jasper Yeates, Esq., Matthias Slough, Esq., James Webb, Esq., Mr. Ludwig Lauman, Mr. William Bausman and Mr. Charles Hall were appointed a committee to correspond with the general committee at Philadelphia, which was done on the evening of the same day.

He was present at the meeting of the deputies chosen by the several counties of the State, at Philadelphia, held on July 15, 1775, as one of the eight representatives from Lancaster county. When the County Committee of Observation took an account of the amount of lead and powder available for the uses of the American forces, on May 4, 1775, he placed all his supply, four quarter casks of powder, at the rate of £15 per cwt., and 200 pounds of lead, at 45 pence per cwt., at the disposal of the committee. He was keeping a general store at that time, and this is the solitary fact I have found that fixes the time when he was a merchant; as well as an inn-keeper, although the fact itself is very well known.

During the course of the war large numbers of prisoners of war were sent to Lancaster for safe-keeping. Among the first to arrive were those taken at St. John's, Canada, by General Richard Montgomery. They arrived here on December 9th, 1775, and consisted of 9 officers and 242 privates, with 30 women and 30 children, all connected with the Seventh Royal Fusileers. For a time the officers were lodged at a tavern, and the soldiers in the local barracks. As no provision had been made for their support, Col. Slough proposed to the committee in charge to supply rations to these prisoners.

He was also present at the military

convention called in this city on July 4, 1776, when delegates representing the fifty-three battalions of the Associators of Pennsylvania met to "choose two Brigadier Generals to command the battalions and forces of Pennsylvania." He was at that time the Colonel of the Seventh Lancaster county battalion. (Daniel Roberdeau, having received 160 votes, was elected first Brigadier General, and James Ewing, receiving the next highest number of votes, 85, the second Brigadier General.)

Colonel Slough's battalion was the seventh of the thirteen raised in this county. It was ordered to Philadelphia in the summer of 1776, and from thence was sent to join the Flying Camp, in New Jersey, authorized by Congress. It was among the earliest to make its appearance in the camp, most, if not the entire battalion, being on the ground on July 8. An order of the Council of Safety was sent to him for £177.12.6 for arms purchased by him for the use of the battalion. His command took part in the desperate battle of Long Island, on the 27th of August following, and, after completing its term of service, returned to Lancaster in the fall, where it was subsequently engaged in guarding the prisoners of war confined at Lancaster and Lebanon.

On January 6, 1777, the Council of Safety again ordered Col. Slough's battalion to Philadelphia.

Although Colonel Slough's term of active service in the army in the field was not of great duration, his services were required in other and equally responsible stations.

On May 2, 1777, thirteen persons of prominence were appointed by the War Office to supply the patriot army with blankets, shoes and other clothing. Those for duty in Lancaster county were Bartram Galbraith, James Craw-

ford, Adam Ordt, Robert Thompson, Joshua Elder, Christopher Crawford, William Atlee, John Hubley, Alexander Lowry, Curtis Grubb, Philip Mailsteller, Matthias Slough and Adam Reigart.

He was also one of a committee of twelve appointed to take charge and look after Dr. John Kearsly and one, I. Brooks, who had been arrested, charged with "being concerned in an endeavor to procure British troops to invade Pennsylvania and the other colonies in a Hostile manner, with other inimical correspondence and practices." From this place Dr. Kearsly was sent to York. Brooks remained in the jail here; no one was allowed to see him except in the presence of a member of the committee, which was composed of George Ross, Jasper Yeates, William Atlee, William Bausman, Christian Voght, Jacob Glatz, Abraham DeHuff, Andrew Graff, John Witmer, Jr., and Jacob King. In spite of this formidable committee and its precautions for his safety, Brooks escaped from the Lancaster Jail on October 4, 1777.

At the close of the Revolutionary War Col. Slough resumed the care of his private interests, from which his attention had been more or less drawn during those trying times. Just when he took up the business of store-keeper I have been unable to ascertain. As his name does not appear among the licensed innkeepers in 1780, the inference is that for a time he had given up that vocation. We, however, find him again in the tavern line in 1789.

He became a member of Lodge No. 43, F. and A. M., of Lancaster, September 29, 1794. The regular meetings of that lodge were held at the Swan Tavern from June, 1788, until June, 1792. He was one of the five Superintendents employed in the construction of the Philadelphia and Lancaster turn-

pike, having charge of the fifth, the most westerly division, on which he began work on March 20, 1793.

He appears to have been largely interested in stage lines, especially after the completion of the Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike. He, in conjunction with Messrs. Hunt and Downing, in 1796, managed a line of stages that ran from Lancaster to Philadelphia every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. At the same time he, in connection with William Geer, advertised that they had put a stage on the road from Lancaster to Shippensburg, passing through Middletown, Harrisburg and Carlisle. In January, 1797, the firm of Slough & Geer was dissolved, Slough retiring.

In 1797 I find he was exercising the office of deputy postmaster in the borough.

In 1780, Jasper Yeates, George Ross, Casper Shaffner and some other friends of higher education started an Academy in the borough. At an election, held on June 22, 1782, Colonel Slough, along with Dr. Muhlenberg, Hon. W. A. Atlee, John Hubley, William Henry and Jasper Yeates, was elected a curator of the Academy.

Colonel Slough was a man of considerable wealth, as estimated in those days. In addition to being the owner of the Swan tavern, he was the holder of much other real estate. His lands began near Witmer's bridge and extended along the Conestoga river, a considerable distance towards Graeff's Landing.

On February 26, 1799, he conveyed to Frederick Seeger, William Webb, George Musser, James Morrison, George Ihlig and Zachariah Moore, the County Directors of the Poor, the tract of land on the eastern edge of the city, containing 84 acres and 152 perches, now known as the Poor House Farm, for the sum of £3,129.7.16. Two years

later the old stone Poor House was erected on this land at a cost of £5,573.4.6½. Slough's mill, spoken of in the early records, stood on the site of the old city water works.

It is very clear that Colonel Slough was among the foremost citizens of the place during the last quarter of the last century. We find him holding public office for a period of nearly fifty years. Indeed, few of our public men were so prominent in local affairs. There could hardly be a higher tribute to his character than that fact. In all my investigations I have found but a single aspersion on his reputation. It is to be found on page 254 of Christopher Marshall's "Remembrancer," under date of July 19-20, 1780. He has these paragraphs: "Visited by William Henry; (we) took a walk in the garden (and) stayed some time in conversation; (he) said that Slough had acted very imprudently, as he had heard; that he had caused the gold, before he paid it away, to be clipped very close, and thereby procured a large sum by this, his depreciation, very unjustly. I am told that this week and the last, two hundred horses have been sent from this place, that were purchased for the use of the French army by Matthias Slough."

While William Henry must be regarded as an unimpeachable witness in any case where he testifies from personal knowledge, it must be borne in mind he does not speak from positive personal acquaintance with the story he relates, but is careful to say "as he had heard." Under the circumstances we may pursue the modern plan of giving the accused the benefit of any doubts we may have. Certain it is, as I have abundantly demonstrated in the course of this biographical sketch, that during his long and busy public career, he was always found in the very best company. He seems to have

possessed the confidence of the provincial government as fully as he had that of his fellow-townsman.

That his connection with these horse transactions for some reason became a matter of unpleasant gossip seems to be verified by the following certificate got up by Col. Slough, to be signed by citizens of the borough of Lancaster, and intended to accompany his vouchers for horses "bought by him for the French service," that is for the French officers in the war of the Revolution:

"To all whom it may concern:

"We, the subscribers, inhabitants of the Borough of Lancaster, in the State of Pennsylvania, do certify, that during the Period in which Matthias Slough, Esq., of this Borough, was engaged in the purchase of Horses for the Service of his most Christian Majesty, he, to the best of our observation, paid the most sedulous attention to the Discharge of the Trust reposed in him. That the Purchases made by him were conducted in our opinion, with the greatest economy & frugality of the money, the advanced Prices of all Cattle duly considered, which opinion we retained during his whole Transactions, and the general Sentiments of the Inhabitants to the same. That he took considerable pains in finding out in the different Parts of the County, the best & fittest Creatures for the public service, & buying them from his constituents, & thus from his knowledge of Horses we have reason to believe he was adequate to the Trust. That the Horses sent off by him at different times to Hartford, were in good order in general when they left this Borough, and it is further well known to some of the subscribers, that he discouraged & prevented the Rise in the Price of Horses, by not purchasing from those who attempted buying them up through the County in

order to make a Profit to themselves.*
"20th September, 1780."

Several of his sons and daughters having moved to Harrisburg, one being the wife of Governor Simon Snyder, he removed to that place himself in 1806, where he remained until his death, on September 12, 1812, in his 79th year.

That he was enterprising, energetic and progressive is to be seen along the entire course of his career. Harris records in his Biographical History of the county that he "had sufficient taste in that early day to give his family a good education. His daughter, Fanny, was an accomplished pianist, and her sweet music often attracted crowds in the evenings to listen to the harmonious melody of her strains. One of her favorite pieces was "The Rose Tree in Full Bloom." In that day there were few pianos in Lancaster." That there were few pianos in Lancaster at that early day we can well believe. Most likely there were none; only spinets.

Colonel Slough was the father of a large family. He married Mary, the daughter of George Gibson, on April 23, 1757. This George Gibson was the son of Gibson who had the first public house in Lancaster, with the hickory tree before the door. I am indebted to Samuel Evans, Esq., for the following list of their issue:

- I. Jacob, born April 23, 1758; died May, 1758.
- II. George, born June 27, 1759; he was a physician, and died October 23, 1840, at Harrisburg.
- III. Matthew, born March 25, 1762.
- IV. Jacob, born December 15, 1764; was a captain, present at Gen. St. Clair's defeat; married Miss Polly Graeff, of Lancaster, on February 20, 1805; was for many years an innkeeper; died in 1839.

* From "Notes and Queries," Vol. 1, No. 1. Fourth Series, 1891.

V. Elizabeth, born September 9, 1767.

VI. Mary, born March 11, 1769; died October 8, 1823; married, first, Alexander Scott; second, Governor Simon Snyder, October 16, 1814. Her first husband, Scott, was born at Big Chickies; was a large landholder; removed to Lancaster city.

VII. Matthias, born October 8, 1771; was a Lieutenant in the United States army; died September 3, 1797.

VIII. Henry Gibson, born April 3, 1774; died, 1800.

IX. Robert, born October 1, 1776.

X. Elizabeth, born August 12, 1779; died March, 1855; was married in 1809 to Joseph Clendenin, a clerk in the Land Department at Harrisburg.

XI. Frances, born October 8, 1781; died October 27, 1837; married James Peacock, of Harrisburg, September 25, 1813.

So far as I am aware, none of his immediate descendants at present reside in this locality.

Minutes of the June Meeting.

Lancaster, June 6, 1902.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon in the Society's room, in the Y. M. C. A. building.

In the absence of the President, Dr. J. W. Hassler was called to the chair. The roll of officers was called, and, on motion, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with. The application of William K. Groff, of Bridgeport, Conn., for membership was acted upon and the applicant elected.

The donations to the library were numerous, and of books mainly. Vice President Evans presented the Society with "Egle's Notes and Queries" for the years 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894; also, Glossbrenner's scarce "History of York County," Sherman Day's "Historical Collections of Pennsylvania," the "Centennial History of Allegheny County," and a "History of Border Warfare in Pennsylvania," published in this city in 1842. Mrs. James B. Clarke presented a well-preserved edition of "Washingtoniana," published in this city by William Hamilton in 1802. Secretary Diffenderffer presented thirteen volumes of German books, of a miscellaneous character. The thanks of the Society were extended to the donors. The Librarian also announced the donations through exchanges, and the request of the Iowa Historical Society to be put on the exchange list.

Owing to the length of the paper to be read, the usual order of business was changed, and the transaction of miscellaneous business was done at this point. The Librarian was in-

structed to have certain volumes bound that required it. The Secretary read an invitation extended to the Society by Rev. O. O. Leidich, of Manheim, to attend the annual Feast of Roses at that place on the 8th, when Dr. J. W. Houston, the Treasurer of the Society, will receive the rose and respond for the Stiegel heirs. The invitation was accepted, and the thanks of the Society returned for the same.

The Society authorized the purchase of a book-case and about fifty volumes of books belonging to a person who had deposited them in the Society's room.

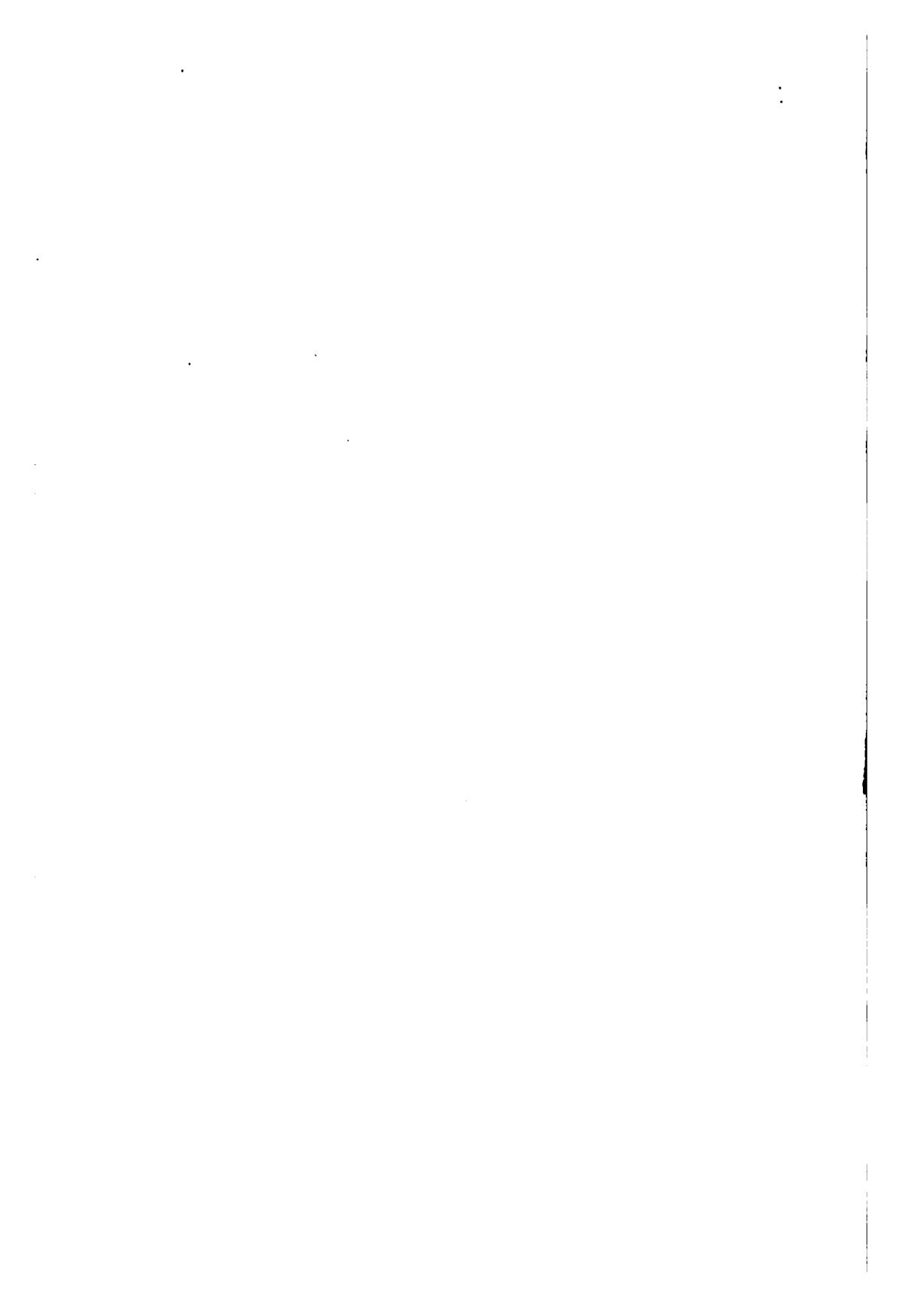
On motion of the Secretary, it was suggested as a means of increasing the library that during the coming year every member be requested to donate at least one book to the Society, and that one, if possible, a Lancaster imprint. The Society now owns several large book-cases, which will easily accommodate several hundred additional volumes, and contributions of this kind are greatly desired.

The paper of the day was on Colonel Matthias Slough and the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike. It was based on a newly-discovered pamphlet written by Slough relative to the building of that turnpike. A sketch of the history of the road was given, and the rare pamphlet was read, and, in conclusion, a lengthy biographical sketch of Colonel Slough himself, one of the noted characters of this city from 1775 to 1800.

The thanks of the Society were given to the writer, and the paper was ordered to be printed in the usual manner.

In accordance with the usual custom of the Society, no meetings will be held during July and August. The fall meetings will begin in September.

There being no further business, a motion to adjourn was made and carried.



PAPERS READ
BEFORE THE
LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1902.

HISTORICAL POINTS OF INTEREST ALONG THE
STRASBURG TROLLEY ROAD.

MINUTES OF SEPTEMBER MEETING.

VOL. VII. NO. 1.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1902.





HISTORICAL PAPERS AND ADDRESSES

OF THE

LANCASTER COUNTY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

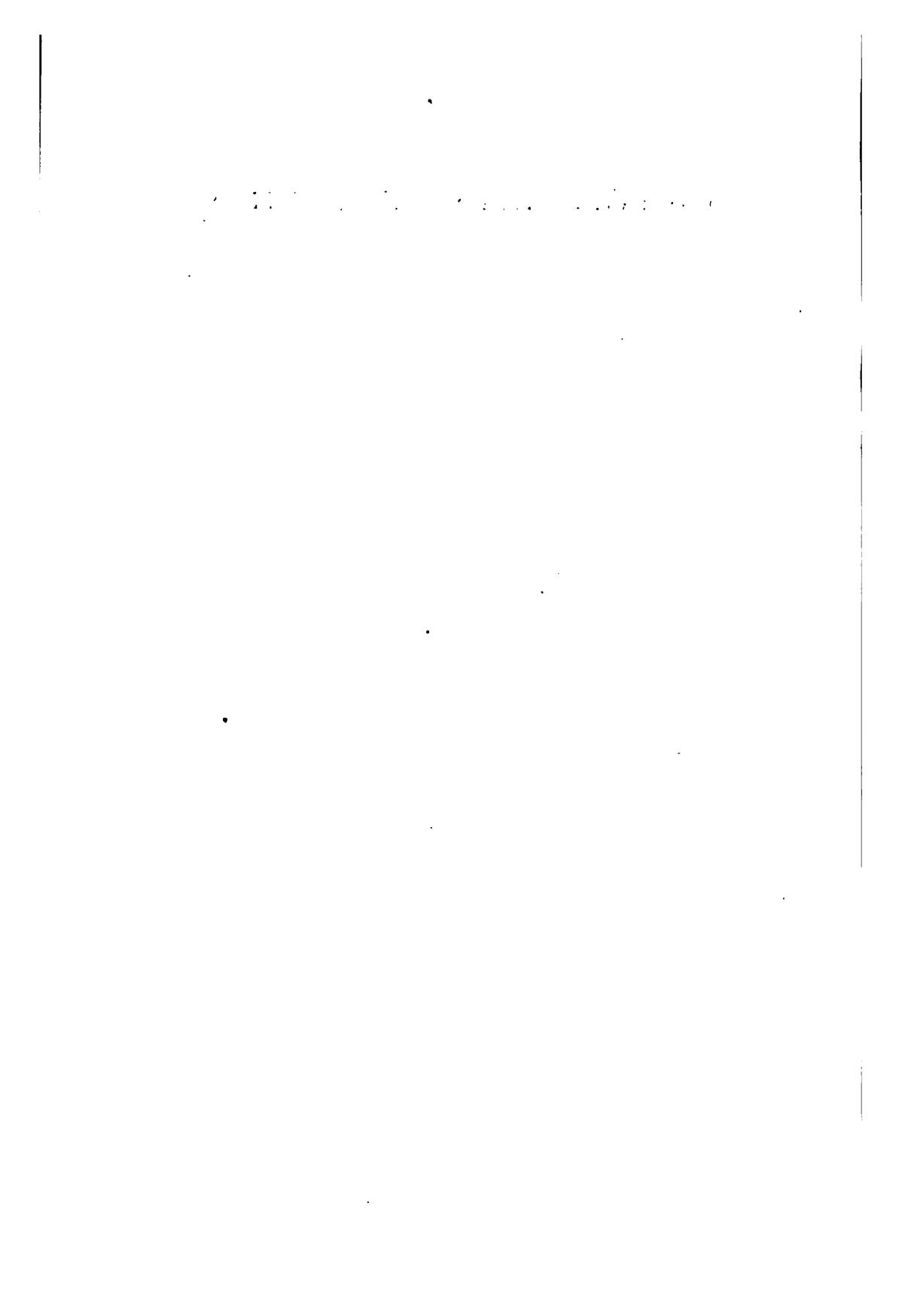
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CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII.

Historical Points Along the Strasburg Trolley Road. By WALTER M. FRANKLIN, Esq.	3
Minutes of the September Meeting.	15
Rustic Art in Lancaster County. By JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS, LL.D.	17
Minutes of November Meeting.	21
Early Lancaster Playbills and Playhouses. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.	23
Notes on Lancaster Plays and Playhouses. By S. M. SENER, Esq.	43
Minutes of December Meeting.	46
Tradition vs. Fact.—As exemplified in the case of Banger Church. By B. F. OWEN, Esq.	49
Reports of Officers:	
Secretary's Report.	66
Librarian's Report.	68
Treasurer's Report.	69
Minutes of January Meeting.	70
Officers for 1903.	71
Popular Beliefs and Superstitions. By JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT.D.	75
Early Post Roads in Eastern Pennsylvania. By HIRAM EBB STEINMETZ.	102
Minutes of February Meeting.	106
Col. John Connolly: Loyalist. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.	109
Minutes of March Meeting.	140
Gleanings from an Old Newspaper. First Paper. By MRS. MARY N. ROBINSON.	143
Minutes of April Meeting.	154
Gleanings from an Old Newspaper. Second Paper. By MRS. MARY N. ROBINSON.	156
Minutes of May Meeting.	174
The Great Historical Scenes Enacted in Lancaster's First Court House, 1739-1784. By H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq.	176
Minutes of June Meeting.	210

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Playbill of January 2, 1802.	30
Reitzel's Hall, West Orange Street.	37
The Landis Museum Building, 1840.	40
Map: Early Surveys along the head of the Conestoga River.	58
Anhangsel or Zauberzettel.	77
Anhangsel or Zauberzettel.	84
Anhangsel worn about the neck.	89
Figure Used at the Exorcism of Fire.	94
Anhangsel to ward off wounds.	96
"Rockford," The Home of Gen. Hand.	148



PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1902.



HISTORICAL POINTS OF INTEREST ALONG THE
STRASBURG TROLLEY ROAD.

MINUTES OF SEPTEMBER MEETING.

VOL. VII. NO. 1.

LANCASTER, PA.
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1902.

Historical Points of Interest Along the Strasburg Trolley Road, - - - - -	3
BY WALTER M. FRANKLIN, EsQ.	
Minutes of September Meeting. - - - - -	15

HISTORICAL POINTS OF INTEREST ALONG THE STRASBURG TROLLEY ROAD.

There is scarcely any portion of Lancaster county that does not afford valuable material for the student of local history. Almost any section can be taken up, and with the least pains towards accurate research it is surprising how much that is interesting and often edifying will be the reward.

The new trolley line from Lancaster to Strasburg passes over a route that is not only most picturesque, exhibiting a panorama of rare natural beauty and a landscape approaching the perfection of rural culture, but the whole region is replete with historical interest, and the landmarks of bygone days bear many lessons of value to the present generation.

Starting at Penn Square, the centre of the city, we are within a stone's throw of the site of "Hickory Tree" tavern, kept by George Gibson, the early resort of Indians and of foreign traders, which gave the locality the name of Indian Field and later Gibson's pasture, and with the small cluster of habitations scattered along the King's Highway, now King street, formed the nucleus of the future shire town of Lancaster.

The starting point is also within range of the shadow of what at a later period was one of the most famous public resorts kept first by Joseph Hubley, and afterwards for many years by his widow, Rosina Hubley, on the southeast corner of Penn Square. It was originally established by Matthias Slough as early as 1761, and was called the "White Swan," and later the "Golden Swan." It was to the yard of this central inn that the

raiders known as the "Paxton Boys" came in 1763, determined upon exterminating the Indians, who had been placed for protection in the newly-erected workhouse. Hastily dismounting they turned their horses loose in the yard of the inn, rushed to the workhouse nearby, and massacred all the Indians they found confined therein.

Another ancient hostelry, with quite an interesting history, that stood close by was the Fountain Inn, which was opened in 1758 by Christopher Reigart, who was its landlord through the trying times of the Revolution, and till his death, in 1783. The County Courts were held for several terms in the Fountain Inn while the Court House was in course of construction on Penn Square. A curious old show bill has been preserved advertising a theatre at the Fountain Inn in 1811. The Fountain Inn has given way to the Hotel Lincoln.

In close proximity, at the corner of South Queen and Vine streets, stands the Swan, opened in 1824, and originally named the Lancaster City and County Hotel. When it came into the ownership of Joseph Hubley he named it the Swan, the same as his hotel in Penn Square.

The first square of South Queen street, which is one of our oldest streets, is notable also as having had on either side the residences of some of the best-known of the old-time families, among them the residences and offices of Jasper Yeates, Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and John R. Montgomery, whose eloquence is a cherished tradition of the Bar, and Thaddeus Stevens, the "Old Commoner," and the brilliant O. J. Dickey and A. Herr Smith, and A. O. Newpher, and W. P. Brinton, and four of Lancaster's most distinguished physicians, Doctors Muhlenberg, and

Carpenter, and A. M. and Patrick Cassidy.

Proceeding down South Queen street we pass the site of the first Friends Meeting House, which was completed in 1759 at a cost of £551, 63s., 3d., according to the records, and where now stands Odd Fellows' Hall, and further down are Zion, Woodward Hill and Greenwood Cemeteries, the first having been established by the vestry of Zion Lutheran Church in 1854, and Woodward Hill a few years earlier by the vestry of Trinity Lutheran Church. At the solicitation of many citizens after it had been established some years, Woodward Hill was made a public cemetery and was chartered March 29, 1851. Lancaster Cemetery was chartered four years previously, on March 8, 1847.

Within view along the route are some of the largest industries of the city, including the immense plant of the Hershey Chocolate Company, the Banner cheroot cigar factory, the Farnum cotton mills, the Miller soap and perfumery works, Carbon steel casting works, the gas works, and the power plant of the Lancaster County Railway and Light Company. Before reaching the Conestoga creek, we pass the site of the old Conestoga iron furnace, located on Hoffman's Run, built by Robert and James Colvin and George Ford, in 1846, and operated latterly by Peacock & Thomas, until it was dismantled. It was originally a charcoal furnace, supplied with cord-wood from the river hills, much of which was transported via the Conestoga-Slackwater navigation.

Coming to the Conestoga creek, we are close by one of the oldest mill sites in the county, now taken up by Levan's flour mill, formerly a fulling, or woolen, mill. We are also on the spot that was the terminus of the Slackwater navigation, where "the

landing" was once the scene of busy commercial activity. The original fording and the first bridge across the creek were at a point about 200 yards east of the present bridge at the extension of a lane running directly south from Queen street.

The history of the navigation of the Conestoga creek is quite interesting. As early as 1805 the idea was entertained of establishing a system of navigation on the Conestoga by means of dams with lift locks, and a charter was obtained for that purpose. Another charter was taken out for the same purpose in 1820, but nothing was done under either of them, and the charters became inoperative.

In 1825 the Conestoga Navigation Company was incorporated, and included among its active promoters were such well-known names as Adam Reigart, Edward Coleman, George B. Porter, Jasper Slaymaker, John F. Steinman, George Lewis Mayer, Hugh Maxwell, John Reynolds, F. A. Muhlenberg, John R. Montgomery, James Humes and others. The work of constructing the dams and locks was commenced promptly, and in the following year the first lock was finished, and the event, we are told, was celebrated with great rejoicing. The Board of Managers embarked on board the beautiful, new boat, "Edward Coleman," at the bridge, and proceeded at the rate of about five miles an hour to the lock, with a band of music on board playing national airs. At the lock was a committee of ladies from Lancaster, under escort of Judge Molton C. Rogers and Dr. Samuel Humes. The ladies, through Mrs. William Jenkins, presented the contractor with a flag and a congratulatory address, and were invited, with their escorts, on board, and the boat proceeded to Reigart's Landing, and in the afternoon returned to the bridge.

The works were completed in due time to Safe Harbor, and embraced nine dams and locks, with a fall of sixty-four feet in a total length of a little over seventeen miles. Subsequently, in 1837, the property passed into the hands of Edward and William Coleman, under the title of the Lancaster and Susquehanna Slack-water Navigation Company, and in the following year a dam was built across the river at Safe Harbor for the purpose of floating packet boats across, which were towed by steamboats, and there was a flourishing traffic for a considerable time.

Crossing the Conestoga over the beautiful new iron bridge that has taken the place of the old covered wooden bridge which was for many years in a dangerous condition of decay, we enter the township of West Lampeter, and run along the Willow Street turnpike, which was one of the old colonial roads forming the main highway to the South; passing the old Steinman powder house, then making a detour to cross Mill Creek close by one of the oldest mill sites, passing in view of the old Lamb Tavern and the widely-known Hollinger tanneries, and thence on the turnpike to Willow Street, we are in the neighborhood of the earliest Swiss Mennonite settlement in Lancaster county. From here the road winds over to Lampeter Square, makes a detour to cross Mill Creek, which is the boundary of Strasburg township, and, passing along the Old Mennonite Church, whose large burying ground contains the graves of some of the most noted of the old pioneers, we soon reach the western limit of the borough of Strasburg, and traverse its main streets for a distance of two miles to the eastern boundary, terminating at the plantation of Major B. Frank Breneman, where is presented a magniincent view of the Pequea

Valley, with the Welsh Mountains in the far distance.

It is to be noted after leaving the southern boundary of the city only a small portion of the route of the railway is in Lancaster township, whose boundary is the Conestoga Creek.

Crossing the creek the greater portion of the line is in West Lampeter, which is one of the original townships that was formed when the county was laid out in 1729. Lampeter was divided into East and West Lampeter in 1841, and was named after Lampeter in Wales, the native place of a few of the first settlers. The Welsh, though few in numbers, were intelligent and influential, and took a prominent part in public affairs; they were more numerous in the eastern and northeastern parts of the county, where they gave names to Caernarvon and Brecknock townships. A myth exists regarding the name of Lampeter, which arose from a statement contained in a curious work of fiction written more than half a century ago by Ezra Lamborn, an old school teacher, residing in the neighborhood of Lampeter Square. In his ambitious attempt to produce a novel, which he entitled, "The Legend of Hell Street Lane, or the Man with Two Heads," our imaginative author set afloat the story that Lampeter township was first called "Lame Peter," in honor of a lame tavern-keeper by the name of Peter Yeordy. Strangely, the story in course of time gained some credence, until it was exposed as a mere flight of the imagination. Lampeter in Wales is a seat of theological learning, and in the Welsh language it signifies "The Church of Peter," or St. Peter's Church.

Lampeter was the birthplace of David Miller, Sheriff of Lancaster county in 1834, who was an eccentric, though amiable character, and who



was familiarly known as "Devil Dave" Miller. He made return of a bench warrant to Judge Lewis on one occasion by riding on his horse up the steps of the Court House and through the main aisle of the court room, dismounting in front of the bench. He kept the Washington House, on East King street, located next to the Farmers' National Bank, and ran what was known as the Blue Line freight cars on the Pennsylvania Railroad. His sister, Ann Miller, survives at the age of 91, and resides in the old home-stead at Lampeter Square.

One of the earliest settlements in Lancaster county was made in Lampeter township in the year 1709, and consisted of Swiss Mennonites, who were refugees from the religious persecution and political tyranny that prevailed throughout Germany, France and Switzerland. In the latter part of the seventeenth century a large number of Mennonites from the Swiss cantons and the region of the Rhine known as the Palatinate fled to Alsace, near the ancient city of Strasburg. Attracted by the liberal proposals of William Penn, they were induced to hazard the voyage across the Atlantic and come to what was then literally Penn's Woods, and they made their earliest settlement in Lancaster county in the vicinity of the now flourishing villages of Willow Street and Lampeter.

About midway between these two villages, on the farm of the venerable David Huber, an incorporator of the railway and one of its earliest and most influential champions, and regarded as "the father" of the enterprise, stands well preserved a portion of what is believed to be the oldest house in Lancaster county. It is a model of substantial masonry and solid oak timber work. The first Mennonite Church built in Lancaster

county was erected on this property in 1712, and was used as a school house during the week. The land has passed down through generations of ancestors direct from William Penn to the present owner, who lives in comfortable retirement with his amiable wife, daughter of the late John McCartney, a noted scrivener and conveyancer, the Huber crossing being exactly midway between the terminal points of the railway.

Among the early settlers in the Pequea Valley were Hans Mylin and his sons, Martin and John; Martin Kendig, Hans Herr, Ulrich Brackbill and others, who selected a tract of 10,000 acres, for which they obtained a warrant, October 10, 1710, which was subsequently divided among them by the Surveyor General, on April 27, 1711, and much of the same land is held by their descendants to this day. These early settlers were people of not only great sturdiness and thrift, but of high purpose and most estimable character.

Martin Mylin was a famous preacher and writer, and Hans Herr was their Bishop. The latter was chosen by lot to return to Europe to induce their relatives and others to come to the new country, but his flock were so reluctant to spare him that Martin Kendig, who was an influential leader among them, volunteered to go in his place, and made the hard journey, bringing back with him a considerable number of immigrants. Among those who sought the new land was Matthias Schleiermacher, a man of means and of great force of character, who came from Strasburg, in Alsace, in 1710, and took up a tract of a thousand acres; and tradition credits him with having given the township in which it lay the name of Strasburg, at first "New Strasburg," which was carved out of Leacock in 1759, the latter being so named by a Scotch-Irish

settler, who came from Leacock in Ireland.

There were also among those who were attracted by the Swiss Mennonites, a few French Huguenots, Daniel Ferree, Isaac Lefevre and others, who bought a large portion of the tract taken up by the original Swiss settlers, and this location formed later the township of Paradise, the post town or village being so named by an early settler, Joshua Scott, who, standing where he beheld the beauties of the surrounding country, was so charmed that he declared it should be called Paradise.

Paradise township was separated from Strasburg township in the year 1843. The survey was made by Jacob Hildebrand, the veteran surveyor and conveyancer, of Strasburg, and this was his first emploment, when, as a young man, he began the occupation of surveying.

An interesting incident with regard to the village of Paradise is in connection with the well-known and popular ballads of Stephen G. Foster, who was the author of "My Old Kentucky Home," "Old Dog Tray," and other familiar songs. Mr. Foster lived in Kentucky, and sent his songs to his sister, the wife of the Rev. Dr. Edward Yates Buchanan, rector of All Saints' Church, in Paradise. Mrs. Buchanan had a melodeon, and to its accompaniment these songs were first heard in Paradise, and were, therefore, we may say, literally "songs of Paradise." Mrs. Cassatt, wife of A. J. Cassatt, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, is a daughter of the late Dr. Buchanan, who was the only brother of President James Buchanan. It is not genrally known, perhaps, that President Cassatt spent a portion of his youth in Lancaster county, while his father resided at Hardwick, in Manheim township, which is now part

of the extensive tract adjoining Lancaster city, owned by B. J. McGrann.

The borough of Strasburg is beautifully situated on an elevated ridge of the richest limestone soil. Its history extends back to 1733, when the first house is said to have been built by a man named Hoffman. Soon there was gathered a considerable village, which bore the name of Bettel Hausen (beggar houses), and in 1816 the borough was chartered and given the name of Strasburg. From the earliest period of its history there was a strong sentiment in favor of education, and the town that was the birthplace of so distinguished an educator as Thomas H. Burrowes may justly be said to have been the nursery of the Pennsylvania Free School System. His parents, Thomas Breadon Burrowes and Harriet, his wife, are buried in the old Presbyterian Churchyard in the borough.

Thomas H. Burrowes was born in Strasburg on November 16, 1805. His parents returned to Ireland with their family and remained there for some years, during which time he completed his education at the University of Dublin.

A public meeting was held in January, 1831, in the little brick school house on Jackson street. At this time Mr. Burrowes was a member of the State Legislature, and from this meeting was sent the first petition to the Legislature in favor of public schools, and resulted in the passage of the Act of 1831, appropriating funds for the purpose of establishing public schools, and, later, in 1835, in the formal establishment of the free school system of Pennsylvania.

The celebrated Presbyterian divine, Rev. George Duffield, D.D., was born in Strasburg, July 4, 1796. And on the main street of the borough, in a stone house still standing, was born and

reared Martha, daughter of John Pfoutz, who was the wife of Charles Cameron and mother of General Simon Cameron. The borough was the birthplace of many prominent and most useful public-spirited citizens, and has contributed its quota towards what has made Lancaster county renowned as a "little kingdom within its own domain."

"O Strasburg, O Strasburg,
Eine wunder schoene Stadt,
Darinnen liegt begraben—
Ein mancher, ein schoener,
Ein braver Soldat;
Der sein Vater
Und seine Mutter,
Verlassen hat."

A circumstance in connection with the Strasburg trolley road greatly lamented by the entire community was the untimely death on September 10, 1901, of Amos Hollinger, the first president of the company, and one of the incorporators and original projectors. In the success of the enterprise much was due to his energetic efforts and the unbounded confidence every one felt in his integrity and business judgment, and there was universal regret that he was not spared to see actually realized his long cherished desire for a trolley line in his neighborhood.

Two of his associates who rendered invaluable assistance at the beginning of the enterprise, George W. Hensel, Cashier of the First National Bank of Strasburg, and Jacob L. Ranck, residing immediately east of the borough in Strasburg township, were greatly influential in determining the route and assuring final success. All who are connected with the company are felicitated on the good judgment displayed in respect to the route and sagacity exercised in forming permanent connection with the Conestoga Traction Company, and, finally, the success in constructing and equipping the railway

in a manner that has fully met public expectations and secured to the people excellent transportation facilities with comfortable and frequent service from early morning until late in the night.

It is, however, only what is due from this generation, in the course of progress, to the spirit of enterprise, the thrift, and the perseverance of their sturdy ancestors who converted the wilderness into a blooming garden.

WALTER M. FRANKLIN.

Minutes of the September Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 5, 1902.

The first fall meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held in the Society room this afternoon, President Steinman being in the chair.

The roll of officers was called, and, on motion, the reading of the minutes of the last meeting was dispensed with. The application of J. J. Dengler, of Lancaster, for membership, was received.

The donations to the Society were numerous, consisting of the following articles, donated by Samuel Evans, Esq., of Columbia: Manuscript copy of Surveyor General Taylor's surveys of land warrants issued in Lancaster county and profiles of the same; genealogy of the Houston Family; History of Danville, Pa., and Journal of Captain Jonathan Heart, an officer of the Revolution; by a friend, a German hymn book and the minutes of the Jackson Rifles military company, of this city, from January, 1830, to February, 1839; The F. and M. Hullabaloo and a pictorial history of Reading, by F. R. Diffenderffer; Origin and History of the Smithsonian Institution and four volumes of the Reports of the American Historical Association, 1899 and 1900, by Hon. H. Burd Cassel; map of Lancaster city, of Lancaster township and of Lancaster county, handsomely framed, and Manual of Lancaster city, by Hon. E. S. Smeltz; Report of the State Library of New York; F. and M. Obituary Record, from Mr. S. H. Ranck, of Baltimore; Annals of Iowa, Vol. 5, four numbers; History of Donegal Presbyterian Church, by Dr. J. L. Ziegler; American Philosophical Society Proceedings; Records of Catholic Historical Society for June, 1902; Pennsyl-

vania Magazine of History and Biography, July, 1902; The Pennsylvania German; Catholic Historical Researches, Linden Hall Echo and Report of the Lancaster Board of Health for 1901. The thanks of the Society were extended to the several donors for their gifts. The donations of books and documents to the Society are growing, and it welcomes all such, being amply provided with book-cases for their preservation, and where they will be permanently useful to those who desire to consult them.

The paper of the day, under the title of "Historical Points of Interest Along the Strasburg Trolley Road," was read by Walter M. Franklin, Esq., and proved to be of great interest, dealing, as it did, with many historical places, persons and incidents. A lively discussion ensued over some of the points made, in which most of the members present participated. The thanks of the Society were tendered Mr. Franklin for his valuable paper, and it was ordered to be printed in the usual way.

The President appointed a committee of three, composed as follows: Dr. J. W. Hassler, S. M. Sener and F. R. Diffenderffer, to prepare a minute on the death of Mr. Amos Rutter, an old and valued member of the Society, and one who always manifested much interest in its prosperity.

There being no further business, the Society adjourned. The attendance was large, a goodly number of ladies being present.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NOVEMBER 7 AND DECEMBER 5, 1902.



RUSTIC ART IN LANCASTER COUNTY.

MINUTES OF NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE EARLY LANCASTER PLAYBILLS AND
PLAYHOUSES.

MINUTES OF DECEMBER MEETING.

VOL. VII. NOS. 2 AND 3.

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Rustic Art in Lancaster County,	17
BY JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS, LL.D.	
Minutes of the November Meeting,	21
The Early Lancaster Playbills and Playhouses,	23
BY F. R. DIFFENDERFER.	
Notes on Lancaster Plays and Playhouses,	43
BY S. M. SENER, Esq.	
Minutes of December Meeting,	46

RUSTIC ART IN LANCASTER COUNTY.

It affords me pleasure to exhibit to the Lancaster County Historical Society certain broadsides and specimens of early pen-work, which represent a type of art that has almost, if not entirely, passed away.

The history of the fine arts, we know, has been minutely studied. It has, indeed, come to be regarded as essential to higher culture, and there are many people everywhere who are familiar with the masterpieces of American art. There is, however, a variety of ornamental work, which, though rude and primitive and hardly deserving the name of art, is, in its own way, interesting and characteristic of the people that produced it. It is generally local in its character, and it is not difficult to determine the place and people that produced it. There are emblems—floral decorations—which appear so frequently that they have become, in a certain sense, the exclusive property of an age and race. Have you ever carefully examined the wonderful wood-carvings that adorned our oldest churches and private residences? What marvelous wreaths and festoons are there—carvings that are almost detached from their background, and yet have remained immovable for more than a century. The superficial observer might call the work Chipperdale, but, after a moment's consideration, he would probably add: "There is a good deal of Rococo in it, too." Finally, he would come to the conclusion that it contains certain original elements which render it worthy of study as a separate and peculiar style.

Traces of this variety of ornament may be found in many places. You will find it on old pottery, and even on stove-plates. On old tombstones you will recognize it by the chubby cherubs that sustain the conventional hour-glass. Most frequently it may be observed on baptismal certificates and on the curiously printed broadsides which our fathers circulated as aids to devotion.

That this style of art was originally brought from Germany goes without saying. It was there rather contemptuously called Bauerr Kunst, that is, "Peasant Art." Long before the period of the great migration it was usual for country schoolmasters to cultivate a style of calligraphy, resembling print, which was known as Frakturschrift. Many a rural pedagogue no doubt added a trifle to his income by writing certificates of baptism, adorned with flowers, painted in brilliant hues. No doubt, among the earliest immigrants there were some who had mastered this art, but in this country it was greatly developed by the celebrated writing school, which was held in the cloister at Ephrata. As is well known, the sisters produced elaborate pen-drawings which almost deserve to be recognized as works of art.

In early days there was a class of vagrants—not tramps in the modern sense—who traveled from place to place, everywhere claiming and receiving hospitality. Many of these were not uneducated; they may have been schoolmasters in the Fatherland, but were unable to accommodate themselves to new conditions. They were not common beggars, but did not hesitate to accept an occasional gratuity. Many of them had cultivated the art of ornamental writing, and when they had enjoyed a farmer's hospitality they endeavored to reciprocate by presenting to some member of the family a

specimen of their work. No doubt they convinced themselves that they had in this way actually paid for their entertainment. Sometimes it was a manuscript hymn, with some slight marginal adornment. Again, it may have been slyly prepared at the suggestion of one of the younger members of the family to be used as a token of affection—possibly a valentine. Of this character is evidently one of the papers which I have the honor to present. It represents a heart, surmounted by a red flower, probably a tulip, and two buds. On the heart is neatly written a passage from the Song of Solomon—"I am the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valleys. As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters. As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons."

Among the papers thus prepared baptismal certificates were naturally most important. As these were rarely, if ever, signed by the officiating clergyman, they can hardly be regarded as official. They were rather to be preserved as memorials of the sacrament, and were in many instances elaborately ornamented. One of those which are here exhibited manifests considerable skill. It represents on the right a lady, somewhat brilliantly attired, pointing to a bird with brilliant plumage. On the left is a vase supporting flowers, among which the tulip is most conspicuous. The inscription, written in colors, reads as follows: "Barbara Ramberger bin ich genaunt, im Himmel ist mein Vaterland, in Leacock taunschip, Lancaster county, in Staat Pennsylvania, im Jahre unseres Herrn, 1801, den 24 ten January, bin ich gebohren, eine Schulerin auserkohren. Gott gebe mir viel gluck und segen, und fuhre mich auf seinen Wegen, und bringe mich nach dieser Zeit in eine frohe seligkeit."

When baptismal certificates began to be printed the earlier style was to some extent preserved, but it was far inferior to the hand-work of former days. In fact, nothing can more fully exemplify the decline in artistic feeling which characterized the second quarter of the nineteenth century than the miserable pictures which appear on these certificates. The best specimen which I can exhibit was printed by Samuel Bauman, of Ephrata, but the representations of angels and birds, rudely blotched with color, on the certificates issued by John Ritter & Co., of Reading, can hardly commend our admiration.

In conclusion, permit me to direct your attention to a curious broadside published by Babb & Villee, of Lancaster, about 1826. It is a wood-cut, which claims to represent the ways to eternal life and to eternal destruction. Above is a representation of the New Jerusalem. There are no less than thirty human figures, of which a few find their way to the celestial city; but below is a long procession of soldiers, fiddlers, and other disreputable people who march directly to their final abode, which is depicted in a manner which may be described as fearfully realistic.

It is difficult to describe these works of rustic art; but they give us some idea the taste and artistic skill of a former generation, and are therefore interesting and instructive.

JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS.

Minutes of the November Meeting.

Friday, Nov. 7, 1902.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held in the Young Men's Christian Association building on Friday afternoon, President Steinman presiding.

On motion, the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting was omitted. The application of I. J. Dengler for membership, which was received at the last meeting, was favorably acted on, and the names of John A. Coyle, Esq., and Miss Ida Ream were presented for membership.

The donations to the library consisted of the following: Political Hand Book of Berks County, History of the First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, Judge Henry's Campaign Against Quebec, Jacobs' Rebel Invasion of Pennsylvania, Writings of Isaac Morehead, History of the Presbyterian Church in America, and the Columbia Courant for 1871-'72, all donated by Vice President Evans; also, an old deed by R. S. Brubaker, of New Holland; twenty-seven public documents by Dr. Reed, lately State Librarian; The Genealogy of the Fulton Family, by Hugh R. Fulton, Esq., and a number of exchanges. The thanks of the Society were extended to all the above-named donors for their contributions. The Society now has ample shelf room to accommodate all the books and other articles that may be presented to it, and respectfully solicits material of this kind from all who have it to give.

The Secretary read two letters from Mrs. Howard Alexander, of Norristown, offering to donate a portrait of Thaddeus Stevens, which the latter, in his

lifetime, presented to our former well-known citizen, James Alexander, Esq.

Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs read a very entertaining paper, all too short, on "Rustic Art in Lancaster County," it being an exposition, accompanied by numerous examples, of the once prevalent "Taufschein," or baptismal certificates, once so numerously written in Eastern Pennsylvania. They are in many cases a not unworthy imitation of the art of illumination as practiced by the scribes and copyists during the Middle Ages. Dr. Dubbs received the thanks of the Society, and the paper was ordered to be printed in the usual way. The paper led to a very interesting discussion relative to the practice of this rustic art in the olden times.

The committee appointed to prepare a minute on the death of Mr. Amos Rutter, a valued member of the Society, reported the following:

Whereas, It has pleased God, in His good Providence, to call hence Mr. Amos Rutter, a member of our Lancaster County Historical Society, who departed this life on the 15th of August, 1902, in the seventy-third year of his age,

Resolved, That we, the members of this Society, bear testimony to his many virtues as a good, Christian citizen, a faithful county official and a valued member of our Society, who, though a very busy man, interested in all enterprises for the improvement and uplifting of his fellowmen, yet found time to frequently attend our meetings.

2. That, as a descendant of one of the early German settlers of our county, he was deeply interested in the work of our Society, which is much indebted to him for many valuable donations to the library

3. That we unite with his family and friends in deplored the death of one who in the home, the church, the

(23)

community, and in our Society will be
sadly missed.

J. W. HASSLER, D.D.,
F. R. DIFFENDERFFER,
S. M. SENER.

There being no further business, the
Society, on motion, adjourned.

Early Lancaster Playbills and Playhouses.

Public shows and amusements are probably nearly as old as the human race itself. We know they have existed among all civilized nations from their earliest history. In Greece, where they reached their highest early development, they were in existence five hundred years before the Christian era. It is more than likely that even barbarian nations had their public shows of a rude kind even thousands of years before that period. No nation or tribe has even been found that did not have its sports or amusements, although we may not be justified in dignifying them by the name of theatre, but they were undoubtedly the gradual steps that led to the development of the theatre among the Greeks.

Of course, theatrical performances antedated regularly constructed theatres themselves. The latter grew out of the necessities of the case. There were regular companies of players in England as early as about 1450; regularly-constructed theatres did not make their appearance until several hundred years later, perhaps about 1576. Prior to that time the performances, such as they were, were held in churches, the yards of inns and even private houses; anywhere, in fact, that offered suitable accommodations for performers and spectators.

While, therefore, the first regular theatre in the United States was built at Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1752, that date must not be taken to mark the appearance of theatrical representations in this country. No doubt strolling actors, "barn-stormers," in the fullest sense of that word, had for

a hundred years previously been giving such representations in the cities and towns of the country, in barns and taverns, and wherever the circumstances would allow. Theatres were the rage in Shakespeare's day, say as early as 1600, and we may well believe the English colonists in America, everywhere, perhaps, except among the Puritans and Quakers, brought their love for play-going with them, and that such performances prevailed in the larger places from an early day. That splendid piece of folly, the "Mischianza," at the Wharton House, in Philadelphia, during Lord Howe's occupation of that city, demonstrated the English love of amusement and pageantry, and what a hold it had upon the people.

If further evidence was needed of the prevalence of theatrical performances throughout the country at that time, I think it would be afforded by the following resolution, passed by the Continental Congress, on October 16, 1778:

"Whereas, Frequently play-houses and theatrical entertainments have a fatal tendency to divert the minds of the people from a due attention to the means necessary for the defense of their country and preservation of their liberties;

"Resolved, That any person holding an office under the United States, who shall act, promote, encourage, or attend such play, shall be deemed unworthy to hold such office, and shall be accordingly dismissed." (See Journal of Congress.)

It is possible that the great expense attending the "Mischianza" in the way of dress and adornment may have led the Congress to pass the above resolution, for although the costs were for the most part borne by the English officers, the women in attendance were almost exclusively natives of Philadelphia, and the expenses attending the



getting up of their costumes were not a little.

Measures had been taken at a still earlier period by the Quakers to curb the growing tendency towards plays. As early as the summer of 1759, Governor Denny sent to the House a bill entitled: "An Act for the More Effectual Suppressing of Lotteries and Playa." He also laid it before the Provincial Council, where it was not favorably received, it being alleged "that the prohibition of plays was a most unreasonable restraint on the King's subjects, from taking innocent diversions, and that such an Act of the Province was passed in the Eighth Year of Her Majesty, Queen Anne, when the Quakers made a majority of the Assembly; but when it came before the Queen in Council it was disapproved, and Her Majesty repealed the Act on the Twentieth of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Nine." The just referred-to action was taken in consequence of a recommendation by the Lords of the Privy Council to the Crown, that "we do not see any Sufficient reason for an Absolute prohibition of all Theatrical Representations in Pennsylvania, and, therefore, beg leave to propose that this act may not receive His Majesty's Allowance, Yet we do not mean, my Lords, to encourage the unbounded & irregular Use of them. We are thoroughly sensible of the mischiefs which might ensue from the establishment of anything that had even a probable Tendency to introduce Idleness and prodigality in a Colony which seems so peculiarly indebted for its prosperity to frugality and industry." In accordance with this recommendation, the King disapproved of the proposed law, and theatrical representations have prevailed in Pennsylvania ever since.

When theatrical performances, or what purported to be such, were first

given in Lancaster I have not been able to discover, but as Lancaster, from as early a period as soon after the Revolutionary War, was accounted the largest inland town in the United States, and held that record until into the nineteenth century, it is only reasonable to suppose that strolling players found their way to this ancient borough at an early period.

A reference to Ellis & Evans' History of Lancaster County alludes to the early theatres here in this wise: "During the town and borough existence of Lancaster, and for years even after it was incorporated as a city—in 1818—dramatic exhibitions and concerts were usually held in hotels or taverns, or in contemporary contiguous structures or enclosures. It was not until some time in the 'teens of the present century that a special permanent building was devoted to that purpose. The 'Red Lion Hotel,' now better known as the 'Cooper House,' the 'Swan Hotel,' or 'Hubley House,' on Centre Square; the 'Grape Hotel,' better known as 'Michael's Hotel,' were conspicuous among those that entertained and accommodated dramatic and musical exhibitions."

Unfortunately, no further particulars are given concerning these early theatrical performances. No special date is mentioned. Some account of these during the "town existence of Lancaster," that is, between 1730 and 1742, or even between the last-mentioned date and the year 1800, would now be most welcome. Doubtless none such were accessible to the writer of the paragraph just quoted, and we are not even told upon what basis the statement is found. Of the general fact, however, there can be no reasonable doubt.

In the manuscript narrative of Mrs. Christian Wolf (before her marriage, Anna Maria Krause), we have satis-

factory evidence of this fact. Her uncle, Henry Dering, in 1777, came to Lancaster and opened a hotel on the Conestoga river, where the road from Lancaster to Philadelphia crosses that stream. He also kept the ferry at that place, and became a prominent citizen. Towards the close of the year he purchased a large house in the town, and started a brewery. It was situated on North Water street, on the site of the buildings numbered 120-122, now occupied as a cigar factory.

Mrs. Wolf, then a young girl, was an inmate of her Uncle Dering's family, and gives the following account of what she witnessed at that period in the following language: "Lancaster, at this period, was crowded with prisoners of war. The success of our arms at Trenton and Princeton had thrown several thousand prisoners into our hands. Many of the British officers were accompanied by their wives; others, whose wives were in New York or elsewhere within the British lines, sent for them to share the hardships of their imprisonment in Lancaster. Some came voluntarily and sought out their husbands. A number of these officers and their wives boarded with Mr. Dering. They were allowed many privileges under their parole, but were restricted to keep within six miles of the town. To their active minds the ennui of such a life became almost insupportable. Casting about for means to divert themselves, they bethought them of the drama. Mr. Dering's spacious brew-house would be just the thing. They lost no time in applying for its use, and, having obtained his permission, proceeded at once to convert it into a theatre. The greater part of these gentlemen and ladies were familiar with the plays of Shakespeare, hence it was not difficult to prepare themselves in this respect. Whilst the necessary alterations were making, re-

hearsals were attended to, costumes and scenery improvised, all of which was the work of amateurs." Miss Krause was not only a spectator, but was admitted to the mysteries of the "green room," and, through it all, learned some of the plays and songs. This is the earliest direct and authentic information we have of theatrical performances in this city.

This brings me to the particular play-bill which has induced the preparation of this brief article. There lately came into my possession a small play-bill, bearing the date of January 2, 1800, printed in this city by that able, but irascible, editor and politician, William Hamilton. The bill is the smallest of all I have seen descriptive of performances in this city. It was found among the papers of Mr. Adam Wolf, a well-known citizen, who for many years and up to the time of his death lived in a house in the second square of North Duke street, west side. The bill has been very carefully preserved, being almost as fresh looking as when it came from Hamilton's press. It is the oldest of the many play-bills that I have seen referring to theatrical entertainments given in this city, a good many of which have come to light in recent years. Here is the bill to speak for itself.

The performance was given, as the bill recites, at the public house of Mr. Archibald Lanegan, the "White Horse" tavern, which was located at what then was the eastern end of East King street, at the northwest corner of Ann, on the property now occupied by Mr. Charles J. Swarr, the old Henderson homestead. This tavern was not always known by that name, however. I find that it was later known as the "Olympic Garden," a name suggestive of other things besides a tavern, theatrical performances, perhaps, and still later as the "Union Hotel," owned by

BY DESIRE OF
GOVERNOR M'KEAN,

Who means to honor the Theatre with his presence.

THIS EVENING, January 2, 1800,

At the House of Mr. LENEGAN, in East King-street, Lancaster.

At the Sign of the White Horse.

The LADIES & GENTLEMEN of Lancaster are respectfully informed, that this evening will be presented the greatest variety of amusements that has ever been exhibited in this town, consisting of

Pantomime, Singing, Hornpipe Dancing, Tumbling, SPEAKING, &c. &c.

And in particular an Indian WAR and SCALP Dance,
by Mr. Durang and Mr. F. Ricketts.

Doors to be opened at six and the performance to begin at 7 o'clock.
Tickets to be had at Mr. Lenegan's and at Hamilton's Printing-Office.

LADIES and GENTLEMEN who wish to engage seats may have calling upon MR. ROWSON at the Theatre.

ROWSON & Co.

Printed by William Hamilton, King-street, Lancaster.
A. one box was appropriated and occupied by the women,

Henry Keffer, in 1828, and again changed to the "White Horse," in 1830, in which year it was kept by Thomas Logan.

Although this, as I believe, is the earliest play bill of a theatre held in Lancaster that has survived the wreck of time, or at least that has so far been discovered, there is no reason to believe it refers to the first theatrical performance held in this city. On the contrary, it in itself furnishes negative evidence that it was not. It is not at all likely that, if such had been the case, evidence of the fact would have been given. We may rest assured advantage would have been taken of the occasion to inform the public that it had now, for the first time, the rare privilege of seeing a grand exhibition of dramatic art, and every effort made to attract public attention to such a hitherto unknown and unseen occurrence. As nothing of this kind occurs on the play-bill, and the distinct assertion is made on the printed bill that "the greatest variety of amusements that has ever been exhibited in this town will be presented," seems to me very satisfactory evidence that such performances were well known to the citizens of Lancaster borough prior to the year 1800.

The next older play-bill of which I have any knowledge was owned by the late S. H. Zahm, bookseller. It was the earliest one of a series owned by that well-known gentleman. It bears the date of July 4, 1811, on the evening of which day "The American Heroine; or the Glory of Columbia," a patriotic melo-drama, in which the battles of Lexington, Bunker Hill, and the death of General Warren were depicted, was rendered. The play was very appropriately suited to the day. A comic opera, "The Poor Soldier," in two acts,

by John O'Keefe, followed. It was presented at the Fountain Inn tavern, on South Queen street, then kept by Mr. Whiteside. Box tickets were fifty cents, and gallery seats, twenty-five cents. Mr. Durang, the same person, evidently, mentioned on the first bill, was the manager. By a reference to the files of the Lancaster Journal, I discovered the following notice in the issue of June 28, 1811:

"MR. DURANG,
Lancaster Theatre,

Most respectfully acquaints the ladies and gentlemen of Lancaster and the vicinity, that for the remainder of the season he will have the honor to bring forward the most splendid and admired performances, together with dancing, singing, dramatics, etc. Days of performances will be Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. There will be a performance on the Fourth of July, expressly for the occasion."

That was "The American Heroine," which, as we have seen, came off as announced on the bill.

Doubtless four performances were given weekly, as stated in the newspaper notice. The bill for the next later one was dated July 13, 1811. It was Tobin's well-known and then very popular play, "The Honeymoon." The afterpiece was Isaac Bickerstaff's "The Sultan." On July 15 the bill calls for Charles Kemble's play, "The Point of Honor," followed by a comic farce as an afterpiece, "Modern Antiques." Another bill of the series bears date of Friday, July 19, 1811, when Goldsmith's world-renowned comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer"—a comedy which has held the boards down to the present hour—was given. Here, too, we have an allusion to earlier theatres, as the bill states that this was the first time this comedy had ever been given to a Lancaster audience.

In the following year, 1812, I find

this impresario, Durang, again making his bow to a Lancaster audience. By reference to the Journal newspaper, it was learned that for three successive weeks, the first time on August 14th, he had an announcement, one-third of a column long, in that paper, in which he tells the public his company will again hold forth so soon as a suitable place can be found. As in the play-bills of the present day, Mr. Durang was most profuse in his declarations of the exalted character of his theatrical representations. Everything an intelligent and appreciative audience could possibly desire was promised. He refers to the liberal patronage previously received from the people of Lancaster, which may be taken as conclusive evidence that this was a good field to glean in.

Doubtless he carried out his intentions, but at this point Mr. Zahm's series of bills closes, and I have found no further notices in the Journal. I have, however, found a notice of the death of a Mrs. Durang, at Harrisburg, on September 12, 1812, in her forty-fourth year, which may have been the wife of one of the Durangs, for there was a family of them. In the play, "She Stoops to Conquer," Mr. C. Durang, Mr. F. Durang, Mr. Durang, Master A. Durang and Miss Durang all took parts, showing there was a family of actors of that name. The Mr. Durang who appears on the bill of 1800 was undoubtedly one of those who also appeared in the later bills mentioned. The last time Mr. Durang's company of barnstormers appeared in this city, so far as the bills I have found show, was on July 19, 1819. This shows that for a period of nineteen years or more he had been giving our grandfathers and great-grandfathers something to divert them from the hum-drum affairs of everyday life.

But Mr. Durang was not the only man-

ager who was trying to make our fore-fathers laugh about that time. I find that on September 2, 1812, Monk Lewis' drama of Castle Spectre was given, not at the Fountain Inn, where Durang held forth, but at Mr. Hatz's tavern, sign of "Franklin's Head." A farce called "The Citizen" was given as an afterpiece on that occasion. On the Friday evening following, the tragedy of Jane Shore was on the boards. This latter performance was for the benefit of a Miss French. A Mr. Drummond and a Mrs. Allport also had benefits during the season.

Our President, Mr. Steinman, has also in his possession several play bills, but not of so early a date. The oldest one goes back no further than July 24, 1820. On the evening of that day a patriotic drama, called "She Would be a Soldier," written by M. M. Noah, was presented, after which a farce, "Blue Devils," was given. There was a ballet. Captain Hambright's military company, the Lancaster Phalanx, and the Military Band attached to Captain Reynolds' Company made their appearance on the occasion. A camp with the military in view and the reveille by the band formed a part of the performance.

As was to be expected, there were no buildings specially constructed at that early day in Lancaster to accommodate wandering theatrical troupes. It was not until a much later day that these came along. The consequence was that strolling players were compelled to accommodate themselves to what they could find at the old-time Inns and Taverns. The holding of such an entertainment at a tavern naturally led to a good deal of drinking, and they were accordingly welcomed wherever the circumstances allowed of a suitable room being provided for them. From the number of Inns at which theatres were held, there

seems to have been considerable rivalry between the hotel keepers. We have already seen that performances were given at "The White Horse," "The Fountain Inn," and "Franklin's Head," but these were not the only places. "The Grape," "The Swan" and "The Red Lion" Taverns were also used for this purpose.

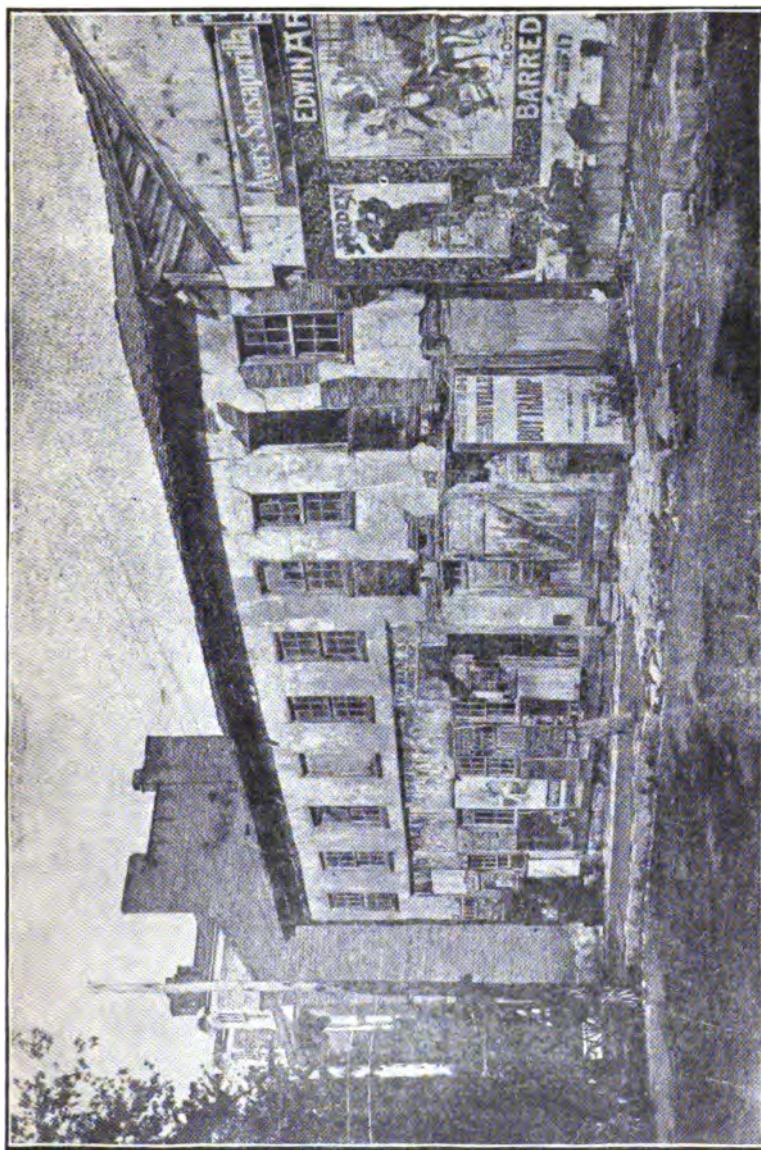
From the local history of Messrs. Evans and Ellis, I learn that prior to 1819, one Landis Beitel had fitted up a building that stood on the south-east corner of Prince and Orange streets for the accommodation of such performances. This building was sometimes called the "Circus."

John Landis, better known later as the proprietor of a "Museum," it appears was one of the proprietors of this place, and in 1819 he announced in the newspapers that he would open a Museum opposite the theatre, on Orange street. The building, according to tradition, was blown down afterwards. During the exciting Presidential canvass of 1840, a log cabin, the emblem of the Whig party, under the leadership of General Harrison, was erected on the spot, and for a season hard cider and political fireworks were administered to visitors. The Union Bethel Church now occupies the site, and the light songs of that early day have been supplanted by grander hymns of praise.

A little after 1830, a theatre was fitted up in West Chestnut street, south side, on the site where later Mayor Kieffer's foundry stood. "Home talent," as well as strolling companies, used this structure for their theatrical representations. At my request, Miss Clark interviewed Amos Slaymaker, the oldest living member of the Lancaster Bar, who well remembers the time when this theatre was in full swing. Its proprietor was named Flinn or Flynn, but he did not re-

main at the head of it a long time. Later it was leased by John Jefferson, the grand-uncle of America's greatest living actor, Joseph Jefferson. John Jefferson's father, Joseph Jefferson, the first, was himself a noted actor, and appeared here as early as 1820, and, perhaps, earlier. In that year he probably played the part of "First Officer," and his son, "Jerry," in "She Would Be a Soldier." His wife, or his son's wife, was the leading lady, playing the part of "Adela." The name of J. Jefferson appears on the bill twice, one no doubt being the father Joseph and the other his son, John, but which was "First Officer" and which "Jerry" it is at this time impossible to say. Joseph Jefferson, it would appear, was also a scenic artist, as this playbill lays emphasis on the fact that the scenery was "designed and executed by Mr. Jefferson." Mr. Slaymaker saw him play Macbeth and "Rob Roy" in the early 30's. One of his sons, John Jefferson by name, was unfortunate enough to fall down the steps of the old "Red Lion Hotel" (Cooper's), and sustained injuries that resulted fatally.

The next theatre to appear was built in 1837, on the western end of the lot now occupied by the Young Men's Christian Association building, on the corner of Orange and Market streets. In the early days it was known as "Reitzel's Hall," so named after the builder or proprietor, Philip Reitzel. In March of that year it was leased by a Philadelphia manager named Potter, who opened it as a theatre soon after. This became a noted place in a few years, as a local association named "The Conner Society" gave its entertainments in the place, and here the local talent imbibed its first lessons in the histrionic art. I well remember that old wooden structure, having known it as far back as 1851. It was



REITZEL'S HALL, WEST ORANGE STREET, 1837.

a most uninviting place, as seen from the outside. What it was on the inside I do not know, for I cannot recall to mind that I was ever on the inside, although I lived within one hundred feet of it for a period of six years.

About 1848, what was known as "Mechanics' Hall," or, "Mechanics' Institute," on the first square of South Queen street, east side, now occupied by the Heinlitz furniture store, was fitted up for a theatre, and, so far as I remember, was the place to which all the entertainments that came along, from theatres to "Ned Buntline," held forth. It held its place until the site of the old jail, on North Prince street, was converted into "Fulton Hall," and the latter into Fulton Opera House, where dramatic entertainments, and, indeed, everything in the way of important public entertainments, have been mainly held ever since. Under the wise liberality of Mr. B. Yecker it has been converted into a first-class place for all entertainments requiring first-class facilities in the way of stage, scenery and commodious auditorium.

A newcomer in this line, the "Roof Garden," on the Woolworth Building, has also come within a year, and with its charming vistas of the city, as well as its many conveniences and the excellent entertainments already given there, has sprung into popular favor.

It is to be regretted that this question was not written up by some competent hand half a century or more ago. At that time many persons were still living whose recollections easily reached back to the beginning of the century, and who saw and heard the men and women who stalked the boards at that time. It may be alleged that even though we have no knowledge of these things we are not great losers thereby. In one sense that may be true, but it is a short-

sighted view to take of the question. The story of the amusements and pastimes of a people is as much a part of their history as is that of their schools and their churches; not so important, we concede, yet necessary to give us a true picture of their daily lives and actions.

It has been brought to my attention that the elder Booth and Macready both appeared on the boards at "Reitzel's Hall," the ground on which part of the Young Men's Christian Association building is erected. So far as Macready is concerned, this information is undoubtedly incorrect. He did not come to America until 1848, and it passes even a dream of romance to believe that the greatest tragedian of his time had consented to appear in such a ramshackle building as "Reitzel's Hall," built over a stable. Charlotte Cushman is also said to have appeared before a Lancaster audience in "Meg Merrilees." If so, it must have been after 1853, for, where in this city was there a hall or a building in which so great an actress as Miss Cushman would consent to make her appearance? Still, as she went upon the boards in 1835, and did not leap into immediate fame, it is not impossible that one or the other of our apologies for theatres may have echoed to the sound of her attractive elocution.

Landis' Museum was removed from West Orange street to the site of the Examiner building, 7 to 9 North Queen street; later to the southwest angle of Penn Square. Then it was put into the large building on the southwest corner of North Queen and Chestnut streets, which was built by Mr. John S. Gable, and the windows were made large and numerous for the special purpose of accommodating the Landis collection, which was removed to it about 1836. Two years later he sold it to Mr. Jacob M. Westhaeffer, who, in 1839, disposed



THE LANDIS MUSEUM BUILDING, 1840.

of a half interest in the Museum to Charles S. Getz, and that firm conducted it until 1842, when Mr. Getz became the sole proprietor. About the close of the last-mentioned year Mr. Getz disposed of it to a Mr. Noah Smith, by whom it was conducted until 1849, when it was sold to Messrs. Wood & Peale, of Cincinnati, whither it was removed. For thirty years it was a feature to our citizens, and all strangers visiting here went to see it. On the North Queen street front, across the building, in large letters, was the legend, "GALLERY OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES," while on the Chestnut street side, in equally conspicuous lettering, was the word "MUSEUM" as seen in the cut accompanying this sketch. The collection was destroyed by fire one year after it had been removed to its Western home.

The Jeffersons.

The Joseph Jefferson mentioned above was the first of the name to become famous in the United States. He was born in Plymouth, England, in 1774, and died at Harrisburg, this State, August 6, 1832. He was the son of Thomas Jefferson, a comedian connected with the Drury Lane Theatre, in London. Jefferson's first appearance in this country was in a Boston theatre in 1795. In the following year he appeared before the footlights in New York, where he remained seven years, coming to Philadelphia in 1803. He was connected with the Chestnut Street Theatre for a period of twenty-seven years, except for brief visits to neighboring cities and towns. He was regarded as the first comedian in the country. His manner was free from grimace and extravagance. He played many roles with great success.

His son, Joseph Jefferson, the second, also an actor, was born in Philadelphia, in 1804, and died in Mobile, Ala-

bama, Nov. 24, 1842. He was a scene painter in early life, but, being in and about a theatre from boyhood, he eventually graduated as an actor and a manager. From 1835 to 1837 he was connected with the Franklin and Niblo's Garden theatres of New York. He visited many other cities, however, on his various starring tours. He resembled his father strikingly in his appearance, but inherited none of his great ability as an actor. He was generous and improvident, and had hard trouble to make both ends meet.

His son, Joseph Jefferson, and the third of the same name, was born in Philadelphia on February 20, 1829. With the example of his father and grandfather before him, and almost born and nursed in a theatre, as one may say, he could not avoid being an actor. At the early age of three years he figured as the child in the play of "Pizarro." After the death of his father he joined a company of strolling players in 1843, and they made their way into Texas, and followed the United States Army in its invasion of Mexico, in 1847. Upon his return he played minor characters in various small theatres. In 1849 he joined various strolling companies, and managed theatres in Savannah, Georgia, and Wilmington, Del. From 1850 to 1856 he was a stage manager in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and New York. Up to this period he was regarded merely as a respectable stock actor. In 1858 he began his career in Laura Keen's theatre, in New York, taking the part of "Asa Trenchard" in "Our American Cousin." Here for the first time his natural abilities came to the front, and he quickly went to the front among American actors. Since that period he has appeared in many roles, among which may be mentioned "Neuman Noggs," in "Nicholas Nickelby;" "Dr. Pangloss," in "The Heir at

Law;" "Bob Acres," in "The Rivals." To the foregoing he in later years added a few more, the principal of which was "Rip Van Winkle," the most famous of all. This has been played in every city and town of note in the United States during the past thirty years, and is still a deserved favorite. Joseph Jefferson is also a painter of reputation.

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.

Notes on the Same Subject by S. M.
Sener, Esq.

A local newspaper printed in Lancaster, in December, 1819, contains an advertisement to the effect that on December 4, John Landis had opened a museum "on West Orange street, opposite the theatre." Some few years since an aged resident informed the writer that the theatre stood near the tavern known as Beitel's, which is now the Western Hotel. The same gentleman, who was born in 1801, stated that he had seen played there the "Taming of the Shrew," with Mr. Duff and Mr. and Mrs. Entweizle in the leading parts. Also, that he had seen Mr. and Mrs. Darley perform there in the "Magpie and Maid." This same John Landis subsequently opened his museum in 1833 on West Chestnut street, where he gave theatrical performances, among them being "Punch and Judy." It stood where subsequently Kieffer's foundry was. Mrs. Duff once appeared there in the "Stranger." The original Joe Jefferson appeared in comedy, as did also his daughter, a Mrs. Chapman. The Jefferson family appeared there in "School for Scandal," "Drugget" and "Three Weeks After Marriage." They also appeared in the ball room of Cooper's Hotel on many occasions.

The late Alfred Sanderson some few years since stated in an article on

"Theatres in Lancaster," that he had witnessed the erection of the first building actually devoted to theatrical performances in this city. It was the Landis Theatre and Museum, on West Chestnut street. The large brick barn on the Reigart estate, on Chestnut, near Prince, was purchased for the purpose and enlarged by the addition of a frame structure for the stage. The internal affair, consisting of a gallery, pit and scenery, was considered to be an imposing affair. Mr. Sanderson stated that one of the scenes which impressed him most was a representation of North Queen street, from the Franklin Hotel, to the old Court House, in the Square. He had seen James E. Murdock and Miss Riddle perform there in "Romeo and Juliet," and also Thomas Apthorp Cooper in "Othello."

Chief Justice John B. Gibson once wrote to Judge Rogers and Mr. Sanderson in reference to erecting a monument to Jefferson's memory, and referred to having seen him play in Lancaster on one occasion when quite a young man. John Jefferson opened a theatre at the Cooper House on May 30, 1830, on which occasion Joe Jefferson appeared in the comedy of "The Birthday." Some time later on John Jefferson slipped and fell down the stairs at the Cooper House and broke his neck. The records of the Episcopal Church show that he died here and was subsequently buried in Harrisburg, services being conducted at that church over his remains before they were taken to Harrisburg.

The old building that stood where the swimming pool of the Y. M. C. A. building is was a theatre in 1840, and in it was played on one occasion "The Burning of Moscow."

One person connected with the early theatres of Lancaster must not be forgotten, and that was Old John Dwyer,

who conducted a school in the old Presbyterian session house. He organized a society of local talent known as the Thespians, and on one occasion they played in the Chestnut Street Museum and Theatre (Landis') the play of "Douglass." The actors were greeted by showers of applause. Glenal Ven was a printer's apprentice; Lord Randolph was a young artist; Lady Randolph was a young society woman, and their rendition was excellent, as stated by one who was there. The perfect elocution of the young typo surprised every one, and no one ever dreamt that that boy would achieve a national reputation as a politician and journalist, but he did, being no other than the late John W. Forney.

S. M. SENER.

Minutes of the December Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Dec. 5, 1902.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon in the Society's room, in the Young Men's Christian Association building, President Steinman in the chair.

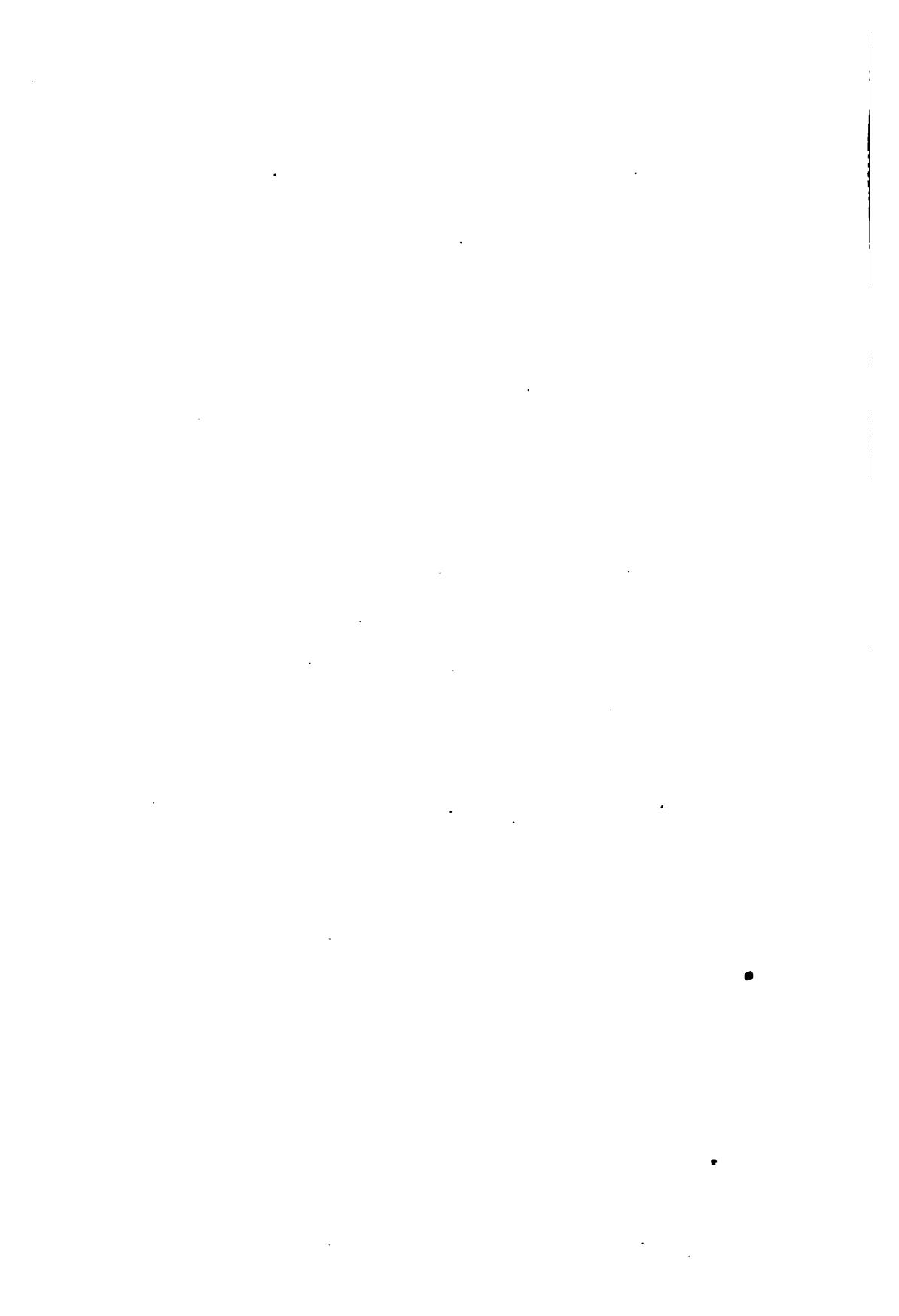
The roll of officers was called, but the reading of the minutes of the last meeting was, on motion, dispensed with. The persons proposed for membership at the last meeting, John A. Coyle, Esq., and Miss Ida Rehm, were duly elected.

The donations to the Society consisted of a finely-mounted portrait of the late Thaddeus Stevens, presented by Mrs. Howard Alexander, of Norristown. The portrait was presented to her father-in-law, the late James Alexander, Esq., of this city. The likeness to the "great Commoner" is a very excellent one, and there is no known duplicate of this particular picture; Bates' History of Pennsylvania, the Whig Almanac from 1844 to 1861, and the New York Tribune Almanac from 1861 until 1868, bound in three volumes, were donated by Samuel Evans, Esq., of Columbia; also, a number of valuable historical and genealogical notes having reference to persons and things in this county from 1718 until 1840. Exchanges from the Lebanon and Wyoming County Historical Societies were also reported by the Librarian. The thanks of the Society were given to the above-named donors.

The paper of the day was by the Secretary, F. R. Diffenderffer, with the title of "Early Lancaster Play Bills and Play Houses." The earliest play bill of a Lancaster theatre, so far as known, was exhibited. It was dated

January 2, 1800. Governor McKean was present at the performance. S. M. Sener, Esq., also read some notes on the same subject. The paper was ordered to be printed, and will be accompanied by suitable illustrations. The discussion that followed called out a large amount of miscellaneous information on the subjects discussed by the paper, and on collateral subjects.

The attendance at the meeting was very good, larger than was expected under the prevailing weather conditions. The Society's collection of books, manuscripts and other objects of interest and value is growing. Donations of this kind are solicited, and will be thankfully acknowledged.



PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY 2, 1903.



TRADITION VS. FACT.—BANGOR CHURCH.

REPORTS OF OFFICERS:

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

MINUTES OF JANUARY MEETING.

OFFICERS FOR 1903.

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Tradition <i>vs.</i> Fact.—As exemplified in the case of Bangor	
Church	49
BY B. F. OWEN, Esq.	
Reports of Officers :	
Secretary's Report	66
Librarian's Report	68
Treasurer's Report	69
Minutes of January Meeting	70
Officers for 1903	71

Tradition vs. Fact-Bangor Church

It is the experience of all who have attempted the collection of material for the history of a family, township, county or State to be confronted with a variety of traditions, more or less plausible, which must be sifted, weighed, examined with facts, and either proved or disproved, before proceeding further in the work.

These traditions, when verbal, carried from generation to generation, one soon learns to treat with scant ceremony; and yet they have a value that needs consideration. It is rarely that there is not some foundation for them, but so distorted as to persons, places and time, as to make it a task to reach the truth. This is discouraging, but what is to be said when the traditions are written, and even printed, and given to the public, with all the assurance of proved fact?

Such has been my experience in an effort to collect something of the Welsh who settled Earl and Caernarvon, and founded Bangor Church. How better could a start be made than first to see the Bangor Church Records? Here was found a Vestry Book, the first entry made November 17, 1751, when the Rev. George Craig opened it with a traditional account of the settlement at Radnor, Chester county, their moving into Lancaster county in 1730, and founding of Bangor. Practically the same matter was used in opening the Church Book at St. John's Church, Compassville, and by the same reverend gentleman. It has gone into history, and should be corrected. It is as follows:

"By the Honorable William Penn, Esq., original proprietor of the Prov-

ince of Pennsylvania, his Charter to all persons who should be inclined to transport themselves from any part of Christendom into said Province, it is granted they shall enjoy the free exercise of the Christian Religion, under whatever denomination. Upon this so engaging a plan of Privileges, among others, several families of Welsh, known by the name of Ancient Britains, did transport themselves from Wales, in Old England, unto the Province aforesaid, and settled themselves at first in the Township of Radnor, in the County of Chester, in the Province aforesaid, where they erected a place of worship, where they had divine service, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Episcopal Church of England, of which Church they were all zealous members, and had for their minister the Rev. Mr. Robert Weyman, the Society's Missionary for the Propagating of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. After some years, many of them, finding their settlements too confined (from the vast numbers of incomers), they, Anno Domini 1730, removed some miles to the westward into a new county, called Lancaster, and settled in a Township called Caernarvon, from a shire of the same name in Wales, in Old England, and fixing here they (in imitation of all good Christians) found that no place would be agreeable to them without the Public Worship of God, therefore, Unanimously and Cordially Consented and agreed, according to their worldly circumstances, to build a Church of square logs, which they finished, and gave it the name of Bangor, from a Diocese of that name in Wales, in Old England."

A scant portion of this is fact. These people from Wales were not Episcopalians; they were Friends, well to do in the old country; had suffered for their religion at home. They came organized

in their meetings and settled in Radnor and other townships on a tract of 40,000 acres, surveyed and set apart for their exclusive use. This was in 1682-88. The persecution ceasing at home, and no more of their countrymen arriving, the land was not taken up, and their vision of the establishment of a Welsh Barony was frustrated by sales to other parties not of their faith or their language. They were dissatisfied. George Keith came among them preaching a doctrine different from that of Fox. Many followed him, becoming Keithian Quakers. Keith, after much controversy, deserted them. His followers became Keithian Baptists, Baptists, Seventh-Day Baptists, and many united themselves with the Established Church they had abhorred in the old country. Missionaries came among them, and, on the plantation of William Davis, a former Quaker, was built the first church of St. David. They were not crowded by the newcomers—the newcomers were Germans, and did not settle in Radnor. The movement west was a second effort of the Welsh to be alone. They did not move into Caernarvon township, Lancaster county, but into Conestoga township, Chester county, in the valley of the Conestoga. They were largely the children of the first settlers from Wales. This was in 1718 and 1719, and it is unaccountable that they should have permitted a statement of first settlement in 1730, when many of those who came before 1720 were living to contradict it. The county of Lancaster was established in 1729, and it was persons in this settlement who helped in that work.

The first settlement in the Conestoga valley was made November 5, 1718, when Cadwalader Ellis had surveyed a tract of 500 acres, now east of Morgantown. This was followed Novem-

ber 6, 1718, by Thomas Morgan, 400 acres; Hugh Hughes, 630 acres; John Bowers, 100 acres; Anthony Yeidel, 340 acres (afterwards added to John Bowers'); Gabriel Davis, 450 acres, and in 1719, Thomas Edwards, at Spring Grove, 1,000 acres, and Jenkin Davis 1,000 acres at the mouth of the Muddy Creek; in 1720, George Hudson 812 acres; Nathan Evans, John Davis, Philip Davis, Edward Davis, William Davis, and many others, until, in 1735, the entire valley was surveyed, settled, and much of it patented. Great numbers of patents are dated between 1730 and 1740—none before those dates, but the account books of the Penns show interest charges in 1735 for sixteen years in the statement on issue of patent, in many cases the interest and quit rent to that date being greater than the principal. The date of the patent has misled as to date of settlement. In many instances a re-survey was made and inserted in the patent. The following is given as a sample of one of those accounts:

ACCOUNT OF GABRIEL DAVIES.

1735.	Dr.	1735.	Cr.
June 11. To		June 11. By	
450 acres		payment...£44: 0:0	
of land....£45: 0:0		Sept. 8. By	
Interest and		payment...£49:12:0	
quit rent,			
to date....£48:12:0			
	£93:12:0		£93:12:0

This shows interest and quit rent from September 6, 1718, the date of survey by John Taylor.

Many similar statements might be given, but one is sufficient. Gabriel Davies had several other tracts, but this particular tract is east of the present village of Churchtown. This shows settlement in 1718; tradition said 1730.

Tradition says their first pastor was Rev. Griffiths Hughes. The inhabitants, in a petition to the Society of

London, in 1734, say "That we being well-affected to the Church of England, tho' destitute for several years of an orthodox minister until the coming of our dear countryman, Mr. Hughes." The Rev. Griffiths Hughes was then not the first. The petition was for Welsh books, and shows who among them at that time could speak and read Welsh. Not all of them, however, were born in Wales; in fact, most of them were the children of those who had settled in Radnor previous to 1688. The names are George Hudson, John Davis, Edward Davies, Evan Hughes, Edward Nicholas, Roger Parry, Morgan Morgans, John Evans, Jenkins David, John Bowen, Morgan John, Solomon Thomas, Gabriel Davies, Philip David, Hugh David, Nathan Evans, John Edwards, Bedam David, John David, Zaccheus David, William Willy, Edward Thomas, John Jones, Norris Richard. Of these, several lived in Earl and others in Robeson township, now in Berks county.

The Rev. Griffiths Hughes was sent, in 1732, by the Society at London as a missionary to St. David's and Pekiomen. He was an active, persevering minister, not content to work in the confined field allotted to him, but made monthly visits to Pequea, Caernarvon and the Tu-pehocken region. In a letter, dated Radnor, March 2, 1733, he says: "I found a great necessity of visiting a great many Welsh and English gentlemen that lived far back in the woods, where I found a great number of well-disposed persons, but entirely destitute of a minister. At their earnest request I have gone there several times since, and for a long time had no other place to preach but under the shade of a large tree—their houses being too small to contain the great numbers that resorted there." This fixes the date of the first church as some time in 1733. An

old draft, still in existence, locates it on the south side of the road, and nearly opposite the present church. In another letter the Rev. Hughes says he officiates at Bangor the first Tuesday of every month, in Welsh and English. The great hardships experienced in going on this long journey, suffering for the common necessaries of life, and at times forced to sleep under a tree, had its effect on his health, and on the advice of a physician he retired to Barbadoes. The Rev. Hughes had surveyed 405 acres along the Cacoosing creek, January 16, 1733—the finest farming land in Berks county, and near the present village of Sinking Springs. This he suffered to lapse when he retired from the country.

In Ellis' and Evans' History of Lancaster County, page 688, there is another tradition, as follows: "By will of Thomas Morgan, Esq., a Welshman, of Morgantown, December 6, 1740, donated 93 acres, lying around this log church, which they had named Bangor, to its use and service. This property was let out on ground rents, for the purpose, according to the terms of the will, of 'supporting the preaching of the Gospel,' the leases running to the period of ninety-nine years. On this property houses were erected, the church thus becoming the nucleus of the village. It was intended to have named the village Bangor, after Bangor in Wales, but in this way it came to be called 'the church town,' and so Churchtown."

Thomas Morgan gave nothing to Bangor—in fact, I do not think he was a member there, or, if he was, then, at the making of his will, in modern language, a disgruntled member. He gave nothing to the public. His children were members—became such by marriage to members of the English Church. Thomas Morgan was an in-

dependent factor, alone among the other Welsh, and desired to have his descendants remain the same. More of this, however, later on. It is in order now to show how the Bangor property was acquired:

1733. First log church built on vacant land.

At that date this vacant spot, on the summit of the ridge, on which afterwards was located the King's Highway leading from Lancaster to Coventry Iron Works, was bounded north by property of John Davis and Phillip Davis, east by property of George Hudson, south by property of John Jenkins, and west by that of Jacob Light; supposed to be about 100 acres.

1737-'38—January 4. Report of viewers on King's Highway received and confirmed by the Council. This left log church on the south side of the road—the graveyard to the north.

1738—May 24. Warrant issued to Gabriel Davies for 10 acres of land "for a church thereon to be erected."

Gabriel Davies also held by warrant a tract to the west of the Jenkins tract. The following memoranda may refer to either:

"1742—September 22. I have agreed with Gabriel Davies that I take a patent for ye whole tract which was formerly in ye possession of John Jenkins, and do oblige myself, my heirs, executors and administrators firmly by these presents in the penal sum of three hundred pounds to make him a title to his share or part of ye tract, he paying what is due to ye proportion for it, before the first day of May, as witness my hand ye day and year above written. WILLIAM BRANSON."

1742—December 28. Patent issued to William Branson for 400 acres under warrant issued to John Jenkins, January 10, 1733. The warrant and survey

to John Jenkins had been forfeited for some reason not stated, and William Branson procured a new warrant and had a re-survey made.

On this property was built Windsor Forges.

1754—September 7. At a meeting of the vestry of Bangor, held this day, a subscription started as follows: "We, the subscribers, members of the Church at Bangor, do hereby promise for ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, to pay or cause to be paid to John Davies and Lynford Lardner, the present Church Wardens, or to the Church Wardens for the time being, on or before the 16th day of November, 1755, the several sums annexed to our names, which sums are to be applied towards building a new church, and to such other purposes as the said Wardens and Vestry shall hereafter agree upon." Total subscriptions, £421:13:0. The new church was then built of stone and located about one hundred feet to the east of the present building.

1755—February 21. Patent to Lynford Lardner and John Davies reads as follows: "Whereas, by warrant, dated May 24, 1738, there was surveyed by Gabriel Davies, a tract of land in Caernarvon township, Lancaster county, and Province of Pennsylvania, etc., containing 62 acres, 127 perches, for a church thereon then intended to be and since erected, and called Bangor Church, for the use of the Congregation of Protestants of the Established Church of England in that Township and neighborhood, as by the said warrant and survey returned and remaining in our Surveyor's Office.

"And, whereas, the said congregation and the said Gabriel Davies, who is a member thereof, are now desirous and have humbly besought us to grant our patent of confirmation for the said tract of land unto Lynford Lardner

and John Davies (the present Church Wardens of the said Church), and their heirs, for the use aforesaid, and the said Gabriel Davies, having accordingly by his deed poll, bearing date the 14th day of January last past, transferred and conveyed all his right and interest and title of, in and to the said tract of land under the said warrant and survey unto the said Lynford Lardner and John Davies, and their heirs for the use aforesaid, as by the same deed poll now produced appears; Now know ye that we favoring this request and for and in consideration of the sum of nineteen pounds, fourteen shillings and eight pence, lawful money of Pennsylvania, to our use paid by the said Lynford Lardner and John Davies, do grant," etc. Quit rent one-half penny sterling per acre, or value thereof in coin current according as the exchange shall then be between our said Province and the City of London.

1759—October 8. Nathan Evans, Sr., having paid £29:2:0 for the Glebe Land which lies around the church, clearing it out of the office, the patent being for the use of the minister officiating in the Church of Bangor, and it having been noticed the tract was patented to Lynford Lardner and John Davies (Church Wardens), and their heirs, for the use, etc., Lynford Lardner and John Davies this day conveyed the same to Nathan Evans, his heirs and assigns, in trust, for the uses, intents and purposes aforesaid.

1759—October 10. Nathan Evans, Sr., and Susannah, his wife, by indenture of this date, granted and conveyed the tract of land, with the church thereon erected and built, unto James Turbet and Nathan Evans, Jr., (then), Church Wardens of said church, and their successors in the office of Wardenship, hereafter chosen

by the said minister and congregation, or a majority of them, from time to time, in trust for the sole and only benefit and behoof of the Minister and Congregation for the time being of Protestants of the Established Church of England, using and frequenting the said church then erected, and at any time hereafter to be erected on the said tract of land, and for such other uses and intents and purposes as the majority of such Minister and Congregation of Protestants of the English Established Church for the time being, and their successors of that persuasion using and frequenting the said church erected or to be erected from time to time, order, limit, direct and appoint, agreeably to the Act of General Assembly of said State, in that behalf made and provided.

The ground along the great road was now plotted and sold, leaving a ground rent to be paid annually. Other portions of the ground were leased in larger tracts. In these deeds the location is Caernarvon township, sometimes Church-town. At no time is Bangor mentioned except as applying to the church.

The following note needs no explanation:

1761—October 31. "This is to acquaint the Wardens and Vestry of Bangor Church that I am credibly informed that some of them are for applying the moneys arising from the lots purchased in Church-Town towards finishing the Church, But I do hereby assure them that that was not my design when I paid for that land, but, on the Contrary, my Intent was that the Profits arising from that land should be towards the support of the Minister, be it more or less, for the money I paid for that Land was my own, And as I never expect it I think it is but reasonable that the Profits

thereof should be applied the way I intended it.

"I am yours to serve,
"NATHAN EVANS."

"THOMAS BARTON,

"JAMES TURBET,

"JAMES ALLEN."

This then makes it clear that the land on which Bangor Church is located did not come from Thomas Morgan.

But Thomas Morgan did give ground for a church, so there was a foundation for the tradition. His will being recorded at Philadelphia, it is not strange that so little of its contents are known.

Thomas Morgan resided on his plantation of 710 acres. His house, built on the centre of it, was half a mile south of the present village of Morgantown, on the banks of the Conestoga. He directed George Hudson to prepare his will, which he did in a clear, round hand, with ink as bright now as on the day it was written. It covers seven pages of foolscap paper. A few blanks were left to be filled at signing. Ten hundred and twenty-five acres were devised to his four sons and a granddaughter. All the land is accurately described by courses and distances. To son John he gives 200 acres, to son Francis 173 acres, to son William 154 acres, to son Jacob 212 acres, to granddaughter, Elizabeth Morgan, 37 acres. Also, to sons John and Jacob a mill property of twelve acres; to son Francis another tract of 31 acres, and to son William 93 acres. All these are "to them and the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten or to be begotten forever." He provides for his wife, Elizabeth.

To make clear that he intended an entail, he adds:

"Item: I do further explain it to be my will and mind that each and every of my four sons and granddaughter

aforesaid, and their heirs, shall neither sell nor mortgage their said tracts of land, nor any part thereof, forever, and that they and every of them do let the said tracts of land and every part thereof fall to their descendants clear of all arrearages of quit rents, by discharging the same annually and every year."

Then follows:

"Item: I give and devise unto my four sons, John, Francis, William and Jacob Morgan, the quantity of one acre of land lying on the hill that's on the left side of the Cart Way that leads from my land's end to Conestoga Creek, the which acre of land I give unto my four sons aforesaid for a burying place, to have and to hold the said acre of land unto my four sons aforesaid for the use aforesaid, and to their heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten and to be begotten forever."

"Item: I give and devise unto my four sons, aforesaid, John Morgan, Francis Morgan, William Morgan and Jacob Morgan, all that messuage, plantation and tract of land, situate on Conestoga Creek (land described), containing 154 acres, the said messuage, plantation and 154 acres of land, I give and devise unto my aforesaid four sons in trust, and it's my will that my said four sons and their heirs apply the rents, issues and profits thereof forever towards building a Church or House of Worship and maintainance of a Gospel Ministry therein, the which Church or House of Worship I order to be built on that acre of land I have already given for a burying place, and that they do not destroy, nor suffer to be destroyed, the timber belonging to the said tract of land, to have and to hold the said messuage, plantation and 154 acres of land and appurtenances thereunto belonging unto my four sons aforesaid, for the use of afore-

said and to the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten and to be begotten forever."

"Will signed December 6, 1740.
"THOMAS MORGAN.

"Witnessed by

"JOHN BLACKALL,
"GABRIEL DAVIES,
"GEORGE HUDSON."

John Blackall was the Society's Missionary. When this will was presented to the Register General at Philadelphia, March 25, 1741, there was a codicil of the same date with the will, with same witnesses, written on the last page, as follows:

"Whereas, In and by my last will and testament, written on this sheet of paper, I have given and devised unto my son, William, the tract of land containing 93 acres and a tract containing 154 acres I have given towards building a Church and Maintaining a Gospel Ministry, as is therein mentioned, I do hereby order and declare that my will is that the tract containing 93 acres be towards building a Church and maintaining a Gospel Ministry, as aforesaid, and the other containing 154 acres I give unto my son, William, and his heirs, instead of the tract of 93 acres, and in the same manner as that was devised.

"THOMAS MORGAN
"Same witnesses."

The blanks in the will, all the signatures and the codicil, having been written with a different ink, have faded to such an extent that with the aid of a powerful glass only portions can be read. Enough, however, is revealed to throw doubt as to its being with the consent of Thomas Morgan. George Hudson and Gabriel Davies, in their oath on proving the will, "declare they saw and heard Thomas Morgan, the testator above named, sign, seal, pub-

lish and declare the same will to be his last will and testament." They do not make oath as to the codicil. I believe it was understood at the time that the codicil was not the will of Thomas Morgan. There was no one to question it. The property was evenly distributed—the church and burying-ground was to be for those children exclusively, and so made their own division. The 154 acres given in the will for the church is one of the best plantations in the Conestoga Valley—the 93 acres probably the worst. It has never been farmed—is rocky, swampy and used only as a pasture for young cattle.

As will be noticed all the property was entailed. As early as May 1, 1769, proceedings were instituted "for docking, barring and cutting off all estate, tail and remainders thereupon expectant and depending," and eventually all the acres of Thomas Morgan passed into other hands.

As for the ninety-three acres, nothing is known of it until sometime before August, 1765, Jacob Morgan called the attention of the Vestry of Bangor to the provisions of his father's will, and he, it seems, was authorized to build a chapel on the one-acre lot—he, as well as his brothers, Francis and William, then being members of Bangor.

1765—August 8. In a letter of this date by Rev. Thomas Barton to the Society at London, we have:

"I beg leave at present to acquaint the Society, that on Sunday last (August 4, 1765), I opened a New Church in the County of Berks, about five miles from the Church of Caernarvon, and 26 miles from this place (Lancaster). It is a small stone Edifice decently finished, and has been built in Compliance with the last will and testament of one, Thomas Morgan, a

very Pious, worthy Man, who ordered his Executors to build a Church upon a Lot of ground pointed out by his will; and to apply the Issues and Profits of ninety acres of Land, bequeathed by him for this use, towards the Building, until paid for (which will be in about twenty years). And when that is done, the Issues and Profits are directed to be paid to the Minister forever. Tho' there did not appear at first any immediate Necessity for a Church so near that of Caernarvon, yet I am now convinced it may be very useful. There are in the Neighborhood of it, a great Number of Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, etc., who have no stated Houses of Worship, or settled Preachers of their own, and thought it too far to ride to Caernarvon, who propose to attend here as often as there shall be Divine service. This being the case, and as it falls at present within my mission, the venerable Society may be well assured that I shall give it all the attendance in my power, tho' it will add greatly to my Duty and Fatigue, as I shall be obliged to attend it on Week Days, the other Churches not being willing to be deprived of any Sundays." He afterwards preached there, on the Sundays allotted to Bangor, in the evening.

1766—November 10. "Jacob Morgan, having laid his accounts before the vestry for building a new Church, agreeably to his father's will, and it appearing that there remains the sum of £43:4:10 unpaid by him of the expenses he has been at for said building, and the said Jacob Morgan being willing to run the risk of receiving £23 of the above sum from the upper part of the Congregation, and the lower part of the congregation having engaged to pay £20, the said Jacob Morgan now agrees to pay the Minister of

this Mission £5 due last June as rent for the Glebe bequeathed by his father for the use of the Gospel Minister of said Mission. And said Jacob Morgan further agrees that said rent of £5 per annum arising from said Glebe shall yearly and every year as the same becomes due be paid from this time forever to the Minister officiating in Bangor and the new Church aforesaid."

Later a school was established in the church building on the one-acre lot. Morgantown was laid out about 1770. During the Revolutionary War all the Episcopalian Churches were closed.

1786—March 6. The act for removing the Protestant Episcopal Chapel of St. Thomas, in Caernarvon township, Berks county, and for incorporating the congregation thereof passed. This Act, authorizing the removal from the one-acre lot on the hill south of Morgantown to lot No. 32 in the town, was altogether in the interest of the school, and to secure the income of the 93 acres. The congregation in their petition, after giving all the facts in regard to the will of Thomas Morgan, say: "That agreeably to the intent of the said testator a building was erected on the said one-acre lot, and was called St. Thomas' Chapel, wherein public worship was performed and a Gospel Ministry maintained, and also a public school kept therein, but that the said house is too small to contain the congregation, and is so situated that the roads leading thereto are rough and difficult, and in the winter season very dangerous, and frequently impassable, especially when the water rises high in the Conestoga Creek, and that it would be more convenient to the members of the said congregation, and the youth instructed at said school, if the materials of said church were re-

moved and a church and school house built at a place called 'Morgan's Town,' in the Township of Caernarvon aforesaid."

A building for a church and school was now erected on Lot No. 32, in Morgantown, but in doing so a debt was contracted, suit was entered, and the lot and church thereon sold by the Sheriff, May 12, 1791. It was bought by James May, who assigned his deed to Jacob Morgan. Provision in the will of Jacob Morgan was made for the recovery of the property by the congregation.

By special Acts of the Legislature, permission was given to sell the one-acre lot and the 93 acres, and the money derived from the sale invested for the benefit of the ministers officiating at St. 'thomas'.

Reports of Officers.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Lancaster, Pa., January 2, 1903.

To the Officers and Members of the Lancaster County Historical Society:

In accordance with the requirements of the Constitution of our Society, your Secretary herewith submits a brief report to the annual meeting relative to the work of the past year and the prospects for the present one.

The Society held nine regular monthly meetings during the year, at which six papers of considerable length were read, and a number of shorter ones, all, with a single exception, written by members of our Society for the Society's uses. Where it was desirable the papers and proceedings of two months were published in a single pamphlet, thus lessening the cost, but decreasing the number of the publications during the year to five, the series forming a volume of about 150 pages. That was not quite up to the amount of our work in previous years, and was, as you all know, due to the difficulty in getting members and others to write papers.

And here, I may add, is a weak spot in the work of our own and all other societies of a similar character. The importance of having at least one contribution read at each meeting will not be questioned. It affords a rallying point for discussions, and frequently the new and germane matter called out in these equals in interest that of the original paper itself. While more might have been done in this direction, it is nevertheless a satisfaction to know that none of our fellow societies in adjacent counties have done better, while most have done less. Still, their course is no excuse for us, and I think a more strenuous effort should be made to increase the number of our papers, and I suggest that volunteer offers be called for at this meeting to secure at least half a dozen papers to be read during the year. Such pledges would relieve the Secretary of a large share of the anxiety which now falls to his lot on this account.

I wish I could say there has been a large increase in our membership during the year. We have held our own, and perhaps a little more, but that is not enough in a county like ours, with a population of more than 160,000 souls, and they at least the equals in intelligence of any other community in the State. This lack of interest in our organization on the part of intelligent men and women,,

who are fully up-to-date on all questions of local or fashionable interest, seems almost unaccountable to me. The school teachers should be among the most intelligent, the best read, up-to-date and progressive people in every community, and one would naturally expect to see their names by scores enrolled in our membership. But how many of the 600 or 700 school teachers of Lancaster county are members of this Society? I am almost ashamed to give the number. Further comment in this direction is unnecessary. Our younger fellow societies in Berks, York and Lebanon counties are ahead of us in this particular. All have a larger membership than we have. The people in the counties named have a pride in belonging to the local historical society, and, although they cannot and do not all attend, they pay their annual dues and in that way make contribution to the good cause.

In another respect some of our sister societies have been more successful than our own. They have been the recipients of liberal donations of books, manuscripts and other articles of great value, so that their collections are already very voluminous and daily growing more so. Perhaps we have all been a little derelict in this respect. An exception must, however, be made in the case of Vice President Evans, whose contributions to our library have been numerous, as well as valuable.

The enlightened liberality of the Board of County Commissioners in appropriating the sum of \$200 to our Society for its needs has been of much assistance to us. It has enabled us to purchase a new bookcase and a number of new books, of which we stood in need, and has no doubt more than once enabled our Treasurer to face incoming bills with a smile instead of a frown.

Our Society needs, for the use of its members, complete sets of the four series of Pennsylvania Archives and the Colonial Records published by the State. Some of these have been promised, but thus far have not materialized. An effort should be made to procure them, by gift, if possible, but, if not, then by purchase. As our library is growing, I suggest to the Society the compilation of a catalogue of the books now on our shelves, so that members and others may know what we have.

The attendance at our monthly meetings has been well maintained. It is not as large as we would like to see it, but it is, perhaps, as large as we can expect, considering all the circumstances. As has been stated in earlier reports, experience has demonstrated that in such organizations the burden of the work falls largely upon the willing few who come here regularly. If it was possible to attract larger audiences, not only of members, but of the general

public, the character of our work would become better known and the sphere of our usefulness enlarged. It might not be amiss to appoint a committee to inquire if some measures might not be devised to increase our attendance. As nearly all similar societies experience the same drawback, perhaps the evil is without remedy. If it were possible for our Society to hold an annual banquet, I feel very sure much would be accomplished towards correcting the drawback I have alluded to, for a banquet has a wonderfully soothing effect upon the human mind, as well as upon the human stomach.

While I have endeavored to set before you the lights and shadows that spread around our Society, I think you will agree with me that the former are many and far outbalance the latter. We have had much to encourage us during the past year, and not much to discourage. The officers and members have worked together harmoniously, and the Secretary begs leave to thank all those who have lent him encouragement and assistance from time to time. Perhaps more should have been done, but at the same time we should not lose sight of what has been accomplished, and gather from it fresh inspiration and courage for the time to come. We are now on a firm basis, and if we all resolutely set ourselves to the work that spreads out before us, I am sure we will have no reason to be dissatisfied with what we shall accomplish.

Respectfully,

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN FOR 1902.

To Officers and Members:

Your Librarian would respectfully report that during the year 1902 there were added to the museum and library of the Society, by purchase and donation, 271 articles, making the total number received to date 881. There were 95 bound volumes donated, the most prominent donors having been the State Library of Pennsylvania, Hon. Burd Cassel, Samuel Evans, Esq., F. R. Diffenderffer, Dr. J. W. Houston, S. M. Sener and H. R. Fulton, Esq. The Society purchased during the past year 65 volumes. There were also donated to the museum 18 curios and manuscripts, also a portrait and maps, the portrait being that of Thaddeus Stevens, from Mrs. Alexander, of Norristown, and three maps of Lancaster City, framed together, from City Clerk E. S. Smeltz. There were a large number of pamphlets also donated. A number of magazines and books have been received in exchange for our Society's monthly bulletins, among such being the F. and M. Obituary Record, Maga-

zine of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pennsylvania German Magazine, Records of the Catholic Historical Society, American Catholic Historical Researches, American Philosophical Society Proceedings, Americana Germanica and Lebanon County Historical Society Papers. Others who have sent exchanges were the State Library of New York, Department of History of Iowa, Wisconsin Historical Society and the Bureau of Ethnology. The magazines as soon as a volume was completed were bound, and several other volumes were also bound and a few re-bound. A fine and large bookcase was also purchased. Respectfully submitted,

January 2, 1903.

S. M. SENER, Librarian.

REPORT OF TREASURER FOR 1902.

Lancaster, Penna., January 2, 1903.

J. W. Houston to Lancaster County Historical Society:

Dr.	
To balance on hand, January 3, 1902.....	\$ 30.73
To dues during year 1902.....	116.27
To donation County Commissioners.....	200.00
 Total	 \$347.00

Cr.

By cash paid for printing, for book cases, binding and donation to Y. M. C. A., and other expenses, as per vouchers....	\$237.52
The New Era Printing Company.....	16.50
Then there are some unpaid debts that will reduce this balance.	

Balance on hand.....	\$ 92.98
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J. W. HOUSTON.

Lancaster, January 2, 1903.

Minutes of January Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Jan. 2, 1903.

The January meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon in the Society's room, in the Y. M. C. A. building. President Steinman in the chair. After roll-call the reading of the minutes was omitted, owing to the volume of business to be transacted.

The reports of the officers being in order, the report of the Secretary was read. It was a review of the work of the Society during the past year, with suggestions and recommendations which it was believed would advance the interests of the organization. The Society was shown to be in a prosperous condition, with a bright prospect ahead for the new year.

The Librarian, S. M. Sener, Esq., reported the addition of 271 books, and other articles to the collections during the year, some by purchase and others by donations from friends of the Society. The periodical publications secured by purchase and exchange are bound as soon as the various volumes are completed. A handsome book case was purchased during the year and another is needed.

The report of the Treasurer, Dr. J. W. Houston, was presented and showed the total receipts from all sources, including the balance on hand from the previous year, to have been \$347, and the expenditures \$257.02, with a few small bills still unpaid.

This being the meeting at which the officers are elected for the new year, the Society, on motion of Mr. Erisman, proceeded to the nomination and election of officers to serve for the current year, which resulted as follows:

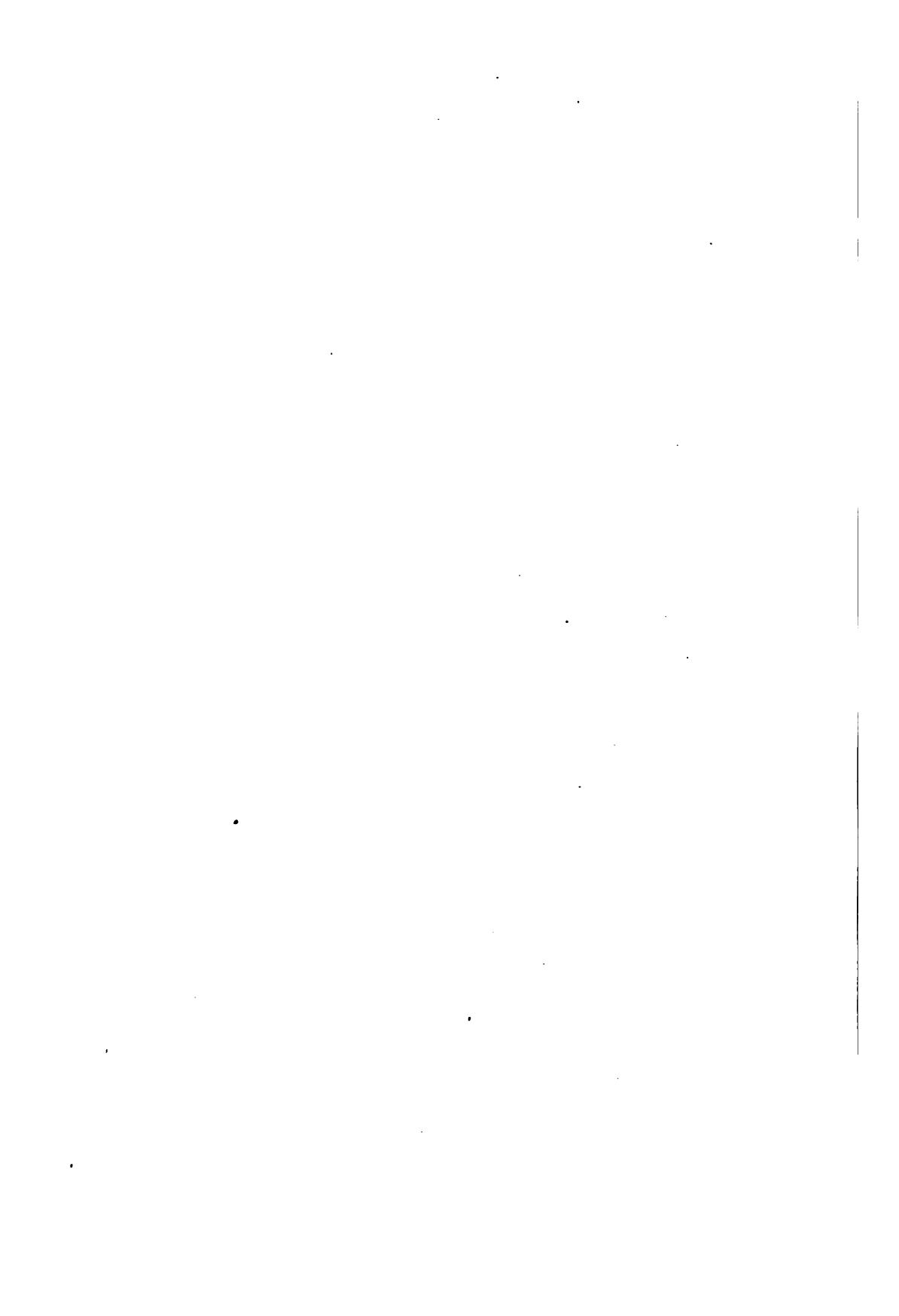
President, George Steinman.
Vice Presidents, Samuel Evans, Dr.
Jos. H. Dubbs.
Secretary, F. R. Diffenderffer.
Corresponding Secretary, Miss Martha
B. Clark.
Librarian, S. M. Sener, Esq.
Treasurer, Dr. J. W. Houston.
Executive Committee, W. U. Hensel,
R. M. Reilly, G. F. K. Erisman, Mrs.
Sara B. Carpenter, Rev. J. W. Hassler,
Monroe B. Hirsh, W. A. Heitshu, Simon
P. Eby, Esq., H. E. Steinmetz and Dr.
John S. Stahr.

The paper of the day was prepared by B. F. Owen, Esq., of Reading, and, under the general title of "Tradition vs. Fact," took up the written history of Bangor Church, in Caernarvon township, and pointed out how much fiction concerning it is found in our histories, and even in the earliest records of the church itself. Mr. Owen is, perhaps, our best living authority on all that pertains to the early Welsh settlements in the eastern end of the county, and his paper was full of historical data of great interest. Along with it were tracings from drafts made by Surveyor General John Taylor, showing the lands taken up along the Conestoga River from below Morgantown to beyond Terre Hill, a distance of more than eight miles. The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Owen for his valuable paper and draft.

The donations consisted of the above-named draft and a copy of the first issue of the Public Ledger newspaper, of Philadelphia, given by the Secretary.

The occasion was rendered unusually pleasant by a nice lunch provided by some of the officers of the Society. The attendance, both of ladies and gentlemen, was good, despite the bad weather.

There being no further business the Society adjourned.



PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FEBRUARY 6, 1903.



PROGNOSTICS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

EARLY POST ROADS IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

MINUTES OF THE FEBRUARY MEETING.

VOL. VII. NO. 5.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1903.

Popular Beliefs and Superstitions -	75
BY JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT. D.	
Early Post Roads in Eastern Pennsylvania -	102
BY HIRAM E. STEINMETZ.	
Minutes of the February Meeting -	106

Prognostics and Superstitions.

It will be recalled that many of the German emigrants to our province were Palatines, or inhabitants of the beautiful Rhine valley, a country surpassingly rich in legends, sagas, and folklore; and where, although the Reformation had shed its benign light over the populace of that region, there still lingered more or less of the mediaeval superstition which had been rampant in central Europe for ages. The great majority of these emigrants were of the peasant class, who came here not only to escape from religious persecution, but with the avowed purpose of establishing homes and bettering their condition. Still, in whatever locality was fixed their humble habitation, whether in forest or in town; whether free or held in bondage as Redemptionists, one of their first cares was to erect here in the Western World altars of their faiths, so that they could worship God according to their consciences, no matter whether their tenets were judged by men as orthodox or separatist.

Most of these people had had but an ordinary parochial school education, such as was customarily imparted to a rural population at that period. Consequently, all were strongly imbued with the local superstitions of their race, which had been handed down from generation to generation for ages past. These superstitions and beliefs they naturally brought with them when they came to our shores. Settling in the fastnesses of the forest, often in isolated situations, having neighbors speaking what was to them

115
UNIV.
GLENDALE

an unknown tongue, by location apart from all social intercourse, orthodox religious influences and teachings, or medical men, these simple-minded and devout people of sanguine temperament naturally fell back upon the old traditions of the Fatherland; at times, to cure minor ills or avert misfortunes, resorting to the use of incantations or conjuring formulas learned from some old magister or crone at home.

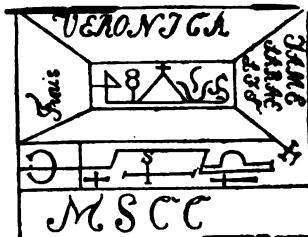
Then, again, the Irish and Welsh settlers, who were neighbors to the Germans, had superstitions and folk-lore of their own; and we soon find evidences of an intermingling of the Celtic, Cymric and Teutonic traditions and customs, these becoming engrafted upon each other until we have what in some cases may be called a strictly Pennsylvania folk-lore.

The superstitions, or Aberglaube, of the early German settlers entered into all domestic actions and the duties of every-day life. No matter whether it was the sowing of seed, the reaping of the grain, starting upon a journey, the curing of any disorder in man or beast, the birth or baptism of a child, a marriage or a funeral—in each and every phase of common life there was interspersed more or less of this Aberglaube. This was especially true of the settlers of Germantown and the Conestoga country, who were imbued with the notions of mystical religion, and with the speculations of Jacob Boehme and others.

It is but due, however, to the clergy of the Lutheran and Reformed churches to say that from the very first inception of the Reformation down to the present day they have consistently labored to stamp out this belief in signs, omens, superstitions, and prognostics.

But few people at the present day have any conception to what extent

these beliefs entered into the daily life of the settler. A few illustrations of these superstitions, beliefs and conjurations we here present, some of which were learned by the writer in his early youth, while the others were either gathered from contemporary manuscripts or were communicated by descendants of some of these pioneers, in whose families the traditions are kept alive down to the present day.



Auhangsee or zauber zettel supposed to abjure all evil spirits.

The Aberglaube of the early Germans may be said to have been divided into at least a hundred different forms, the scale running all the way from a simple belief in the efficiency of Bible verses promiscuously selected down to demonology itself. Perhaps the most common of these superstitions was what was known as Kalender aberglaube, or a belief in prognostics based upon the almanac. This was again subdivided into various departments, based upon the phases of the moon and other celestial bodies. This, however, is not to be confounded with the custom of astrology or the casting of the horoscope. To any person schooled in the art, the almanac became the guide and mentor for almost every function of daily life. First, it told us of the state of the weather for every day of the coming year; then it informed us what were to be the prev-

alent diseases, gave us the proper days for felling timber, taking purgative medicine, for bleeding and blood-letting, for cutting the hair, for weaning calves, children, etc. It gave the lucky days for sowing grain, the proper days for a merchant to speculate, and for other daily avocations.

A well-regulated German almanac of that day also contained a list of lucky and unlucky days in general, from which we learn that the latter were as follows:

January 1, 2, 6, 11, 17, 19.
 February 10, 16, 17.
 March 1, 3, 12, 15.
 April 3, 15, 17, 18.
 May 8, 10, 17, 30.
 June 1, 7.
 July 1, 5, 6.
 August 1, 3, 10, 20.
 September 15, 19, 30.
 October 15, 17.
 November 1, 7.
 December 1, 7.

The oracle further informs us that (1) a child born upon any of these unlucky days would not live long, or would have a poor and miserable existence. (2) Any couple marrying upon one of these days would live in poverty and discord, and eventually separate. (3) When one goes upon a journey on these days he will return sick, or suffer bodily injury. (4) No animals are to be weaned, no one is to take a bath, nor to sow or plant anything, as it will not flourish, do what we may. (5) Of these forty-two days five are especially unlucky, in which no journey is to be undertaken, viz.: March 3, August 17, September 1, 2 and 3. There were two days among the list which were far worse than the others, viz.: April 1, the day upon which Satan was expelled from Heaven, and December 1, that day upon which Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed. It was firmly believed that

any one who had a vein opened upon one of those days would surely die within a week. A child born upon either of the two days was sure to die an evil death, would never be old, and would live a life of shame in the world.

Less gruesome was the "Golden A, B, C," which foretold the fortune for the coming day. The method for using it was as follows: In the morning, when you got out of bed, you were first of all to take up your prayer-book, open it at random, noting the first letter upon the page, then reverently read the collect or prayer for the day; then by referring to the corresponding letter in the golden alphabet you will find your fortune for the coming day. As an illustration:

A. Great honor and friendship will come to you this day.

B. Animosity is in store for you; be vigilant.

C. Losses will meet you this day.

The rule was that if the letter augured well, you were to give thanks to God. If, upon the contrary, it denoted a luckless day, you were to pray to the Almighty to avert the impending danger. Then again, if thunder occurred in the month of January, it was supposed to denote high winds; if in February, much sickness during the year; if in March, heavy showers. And so on for every month of the year. The prediction by thunder was a favorite method of augury, and in many families a careful record was kept, so that the business of the farm could be shaped accordingly.

We now come to the uses of the almanac in phlebotomy, or blood-letting, a species of treatment applied at that period to almost every ailment the human race is heir to. No matter whether the patient suffered from a broken limb, a gunshot wound, tuber-

culosis, brain fever, dropsy, or simple indigestion—if the signs were right the barber-surgeon was at once directed to take so much blood from the sufferer. It was also the custom to be bled in the spring and fall, so as to keep well during the rest of the year, a custom akin to the one prevalent in the days of our youth, of being drenched with a "yarb tea," a villainous decoction in which hoarhound, gentian and other bitter herbs predominated. According to the well-regulated almanac, there were for phlebotomy fourteen bad days in every month. Then we have one day designated as "good," another as the "very best;" one "dangerous," one "good in every case," and finally one "very questionable." To illustrate how the days were rated for this purpose we will but mention the following:

1. Bad, one loses his color.
2. Bad, causes fever.
3. Very good, prevents all sickness, and strengthens all the limbs of the body.

Much superstitious belief was also attached to the days from Christmas to Twelfth-tide or Epiphany, and great importance was placed on auguries based upon this period. Thus if the sun shone bright and clear

- On Christmas Day—A lucky year.
- On the 2d day—Dearth or famine.
- On the 3rd day—Dissension.
- On the 4th day—Measles and smallpox for children.
- On the 5th day—Good crops of fruit and winter grain.
- On the 6th day—A surplus of tree and field fruits.
- On the 7th day—Good cattle pasture, but a scarcity of grain and wine.
- On the 8th day—Much fish and wild fowl.
- On the 9th day—Successful barter for the merchant.

On the 10th day—Dangerous storms.

On the 11th day—Heavy fogs and sickness.

On the 12th day—Serious war and bloodshed.

As to Christmas Day; if this falls upon

Sunday—It denotes a mild winter; spring, warm and moist; summer, fine, hot and dry; autumn, damp and wintry. Grain and wine will succeed, honey will be plenty. Sheep, however, will do but poorly; seed and garden fruits will crop well.

Monday—A winter neither too cold nor too warm; a good spring; summer, windy with much wine, but little honey as the bees are apt to die.

Tuesday—Winter cold; much snow; spring, good and windy; summer, wet; autumn, dry; wine and grain medium. Swine will die easily.

And so on throughout the week.

Then we have the various astrological signs of the almanac, which gave the proper days for cutting timber, etc.; also for taking medicines. So strongly was this belief seated in the minds of the populace that cases are known in which sick persons died, inasmuch as they persistently refused to take the remedy prescribed by the doctor until the signs should be right; and the delay proved fatal.

All seeding of grain and planting of fruit and trees was done according to the lunar signs in the almanac, a species of superstition which is still adhered to by many of our farmers.

Of all the planets, the moon was supposed to exert the greatest influence; thus it was believed that during the period of the full moon, crabs, oysters, mussels, and snails were always fatter than during the other

quarters; that flowers transplanted during the full moon always bloomed more double; that timber cut during the growing moon contained more sap than when cut during the declining quarters. Cattle slaughtered in the fulling of the moon were always fatter and gave juicier meat than when killed in the waning of the lunar orb. Calves weaned during the full moon gave cows of better milking qualities than those weaner at any other time. On the contrary, root crops must be set or planted during the waning moon, or they would run to foliage. Even eggs were supposed to be affected. Thus, if a goose was set during the new moon the goslings would be blind. An old proverb quaintly tells us, "Let him who hath but little money be careful that the new moon shineth not into his purse, or during that month his lack of funds will surely continue."

Witches gave our ancestors almost as much trouble as they did the Mayflower people, but here we were more merciful than the New Englanders and did not burn them. Nowhere were these broomstick gentry more active than among the live stock. They were always meddling with the horses. As soon as the old gray mare showed symptoms of being unwell, the witch doctor was called in to discover the character of the ailment. Not seldom did he find the mane tied up and knotted so as to form stirrups for the hags when they took their midnight rides in stormy weather.

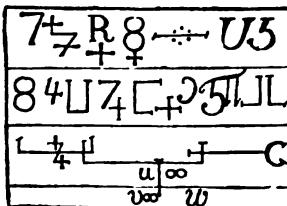
Somehow, poor, timid, innocent bunny has always been mixed up with our witchcraft lore, and often, no doubt, to his discomfort, if not worse. Did a man set out to buy a horse from an acquaintance a dozen miles away, there could be no worse augury attending the transaction than to have a rabbit cross his path. Few were brave enough

to fulfill their mission; nine times out of ten the intending purchaser would turn about and return to his home, deferring the intended purchase to a more propitious day.

What chemist ever discovered such a cheap and effectual method of putting acetic acid into a barrel of cider as our dear old forefathers in this country less than a hundred years ago? After the cider was put into the cask, it was only necessary to call up the names of three of the crossest and sour-tempered old women in the community and in a loud tone of voice utter their names into the bung-hole, and immediately cork it up, to make the best and strongest vinegar in all the neighborhood. When now and then some female in the community was inclined to show an unnecessary degree of temper, her friends would jokingly remind her that she might waken up some frosty autumn morning and find herself in a vinegar barrel! The belief that a savage dog could be charmed out of harm by incantations was everywhere prevalent. All that was required to do this was to repeat certain words or verses, which I no longer remember, before entering upon the dog premises, and at the same time pull up a fence stake and reverse its position in the ground. These things done, the dog's mouth was sealed, and the visitor was relieved of all danger from the canine's teeth, until the reversed fence stake was again placed in its natural position.

Nor can that stupendous piece of twentieth-century credulity, whose "anniversary" we have celebrated during the present week, be overlooked in this enumeration. We, of course, refer to the belief that the marmot, commonly called the ground hog or wood-chuck, is able to forecast the

weather for six weeks ahead in case he makes his appearance above ground on Candlemas day. If then the sun is out and reflects his shadow, he realizes that winter is not yet over, and at once returns to his hibernations and prolongs it six weeks more, knowing that the blasts of winter will reign supreme meanwhile. Whence this folly had its origin it would be hard to prove, and yet the belief in this action on the part of the ground hog, in spite of its notorious absurdity, is almost universally prevalent in Eastern Pennsylvania to-day. How such a belief can retain its place among the twentieth century men and women is one of those marvels we will never be able to understand. Even many of those who deride the idea have an underlying belief in its truthfulness.



Auhangsel, or zauber zettel, supposed to abjure all evil spirits.

Another of the firmly-rooted beliefs was that wheat set upon the day the St. Michael's moon fulls was safe from all rust and blight. In connection with the sowing of which we also have the following distich:

"From the new until the full sheen
Sow afternoon, and it will be clean;
From the full unto the new light
Sow mornings, and it will not blight."

With the peculiar sanguine temperament of the German peasant we may easily imagine the impression made upon him by such celestial phenomena as a solar or lunar eclipse, the aurora,

the rainbow, a mock sun or moon, to say nothing of the appearance of a comet. To the superstitious, an eclipse of the sun or moon portended great calamities, such as pestilence, dearth, famine, etc. The aurora symbolized lakes of blood, trampled grain fields, myriads of lances, spears, swords, and armed hosts opposing one another. In fact, it was thought to foretell war and sanguinary conflicts.

The appearance of a mock sun or moon also brought the fear of trouble and misfortune to the minds of the peasantry. On the contrary, the rainbow was a sign that the Lord, who showed his anger during the thunder-storm, now symbolized his reconciliation, and that little angels danced for joy upon the gorgeous celestial arch.

The climax, however, was reached upon the appearance of a comet. This celestial visitant never failed to inspire the greatest terror and dread in the minds of the populace, young and old. To them it appeared as a flaming sword, or a bundle of fiery switches, which were displayed in the heavens as a sign of divine displeasure and coming punishment. A comet was always believed to be a forerunner of war, pestilence, and plague, a belief that was strengthened by a series of strange coincidences during the latter years of the seventeenth century as comets appeared upon the sky just previous to the French invasions of Germany and the Palatinate, which caused so much misery and laid waste so much German soil. Few persons realize at the present day what a great factor the appearance of these comets was in stimulating the first German emigration to Pennsylvania.

It is difficult for us at the opening of the twentieth century to realize the wonderful signs and phenomena which appeared in the sky, distorted as

they were by the excited imagination of the superstitious observer, during the eighteenth century, both in Europe and Pennsylvania. These alleged wonderful appearances were frequently the subject of printed and pictorial descriptions, almanacs, and broadsides. Examples are occasionally met with in the newspapers and literature of the day. As an illustration, a translation is here presented of an announcement in Sauer's paper, "Die Pennsylvanische Berichte," published at Germantown, July 9, 1757. It describes a sight witnessed in that vicinity on May 6, 1757.

"It appeared toward evening as if two swords were in the sun pointing toward each other. Afterward it seemed as if a black ball came up behind the sun, looking like a sun undergoing a total eclipse. In the dark sun there appeared two crosses, above which a crown formed. Then were seen a number of human heads of a red hue; these were followed by an innumerable multitude of black human heads, all of which appeared in the heavens. Lastly, a great number of blue heads were added to the number; all of which now commenced to butt against one another.

"So dreadful was this sight that the beholders retreated into their houses. When they again ventured forth, the sun had set, but the apparition in the sky yet remained. It seemed as if all persons in the world must recognize them, they stood out so plainly.

"After the sun had set for some time, it seemed as if the human heads were not more than three feet above the earth; and lastly, as if they were only a few rods distant from the beholders. Finally the hosts separated, the black and blue departing toward the south, and the red-hued ones toward the north. The scene vanished, and it was night."

Something similar is to be found on page 122 of Christopher Marshall's diary. Under the date of August 21, 1777, which occurred in this City of Lancaster, Marshall says: "I was at Dr. Neff's, where James Webb, a mason, came for some medicine, who related that about four years ago, about six in the morning, he saw in the sky before the door the likeness of a great snake without a head, who, shaking his tail, made all about there to tremble, and at the same time fiery balls were seen to fly about Germantown. This he interpreted was our present war, which we carried on without any head, and so we should come to nothing." This man Webb was a pronounced Tory.

An occasional specimen of the broadside is also found to have survived the present time. One, in the writer's possession, depicts the wonderful signs said to have appeared in the sky and remained there for forty-eight hours, on May 6 and 7, 1763. From all indications the specimen is an issue of the Ephrata press. The explanation is in the form of a rhythmical prayer, set to the melody of a popular hymn.

A synopsis of this explanation sets forth that this phenomenon was seen at Riga, in Lifland; also at Kirshberg, near Ehling, about ten miles from Dantzig. It tells that there first appeared a bunch of fiery switches, which beat about the heavens in a most barbarous manner until the very points became bloody. Next, four great swords came forth. They would come and go, clash together and shoot out like unto great tongues of flame; then followed a great coffin, from which arose a pyramid around which coiled a serpent. Three skulls completed the tableau. Suddenly a severe thunder-storm dispelled the scene, after which

appeared a youth robed in white, who admonished to penance.

Another and more pleasant superstition of the early German settlers was their belief in the virtues of the Domestic Benison or Haus Segen. This was a written or printed invocation, which was prominently displayed upon the walls of the living room, and in many cases recited daily as a morning and evening prayer. This Benison was usually a small printed sheet, but frequently ornamented or embellished with allegorical figures, frequently crude pictures, representing angels and symbolic flowers.

The best known, and, perhaps, the most widely circulated of these domestic invocations, consists of four verses and an invocation:

"In the three most exalted names,
Father, Son and Holy Ghost,
That are praised by angelic choirs,
Health—Peace and Blessing—Amen."

The first verse invokes the blessing of God upon the house and ground, the coming harvest and growing crops, that the cattle may increase, and that God, in His fatherly goodness, will protect house, estate, stable and barn from all mishaps, especially fire.

In the second verse it pleads that the glow of health may shine upon every cheek, on noble health, and prays for strength for our labor, and that neither hail nor storm may injure the tender blossoms, nor late frosts and early colds kill the fruit.

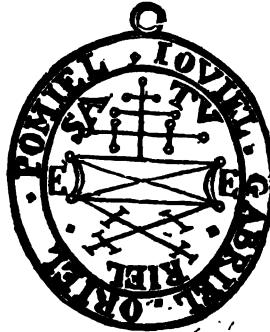
The third verse is a supplication that the blessed Redeemer extend His power and influence over the house and family, that everyone therein strive after virtue and live peacefully, so that all sin and wickedness be a stranger to this house.

Finally, the prayer asks that the Holy Ghost abide here and take up its resting place; bless our out and home-

coming, and in the end grant unto us a blessed death and receive us as heirs of Heaven.

Another curious specimen on this order is an Ephrata Broadside, one of the earliest issues of the Kloster press, certainly not later than 1743. This is known as "Eine Saule gegen die Bosen Rott." "A pillar of defense against the wicked rabble."

This was intended as a talisman, or protection against the Moravian brethren, who were at that time very active in preaching the Gospel of Christ throughout the province. As will be seen, this was set up with bold type in the shape of a pillar, with base and capital, resting upon a foundation formed of two verses from Holy Writ (First John 2: 18, 19).



Auhangsel worn around the neck by a plaited three-strand cord, made of hair taken from the tail of a horse at midnight, upon Christmas eve, insures a long life of wealth, power, strength and cheerfulness, prolonged youth and an easy death.

This belief in written and printed talismanic protection was, however, not confined to the German inhabitants, as we have one which gained a wide cre-

dence among the English residents; this was carefully guarded, copied and circulated, and even down to the present day it is to be found among some of the older families in Eastern Pennsylvania, the parents considering it an act of duty to make a copy of it for each of their children as they reach maturity. I have reference to what is known as the celebrated letter of Jesus Christ. The manuscript is contemporary with the provincial period; the printed one dates from about the second decade of the nineteenth century.

After which, I believe, the angel Gabriel is said to have carried the letter to Lady Cubass, whoever she may have been.

So, you see, there was a great incentive to copy this letter and push it along.

Copy of a letter alleged to have been written by our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and found eighteen miles from Iconium, seventy-five years after our blessed Saviour's crucifixion, and transmitted from the Holy City by a converted Jew, and faithfully translated from the original Hebrew copy, now in possession of Lady Cubass' family in Mesopotamia.

This letter was found under a stone, both round and large, at the foot of the cross, eighteen miles from Iconium, near a village called Mesopotamia. Upon this stone was written and engraved, "blessed is he that shall turn me over." All that saw it prayed to God earnestly, and desired that he would make known unto them the meaning of this writing, that they might not in vain turn it over; in the meantime a little child about six or seven years turned it over, to the admiration of all present, and under the stone was written the commune of Jesus Christ in a letter, published by the angel Gabriel, ninety-five years

after the death of our blessed Saviour,
and carried by a person belonging to
Lady Cubass, and made public in the
city of Iconium.

**A Letter of Jesus Christ—Glory to God on
High, and on Earth Good Will
Towards Men.**

“Whoever worketh on the Sabbath day
shall be cursed. I command you to go
to church, and keep the Lord's day
holy, without doing any manner of
work; you shall not idle nor misspend
your time in decking yourselves in su-
perfluous and costly apparel and vain
dressing, for I have ordained a day to
be kept holy, that your sins may be
forgiven. You shall not break My
commandments, but observe and keep
them as written by My own hand. You
shall not only go to church yourself,
but your man and your maid-servant
to observe My word, and learn My com-
mandments. You shall finish your la-
bor every Saturday at 6 o'clock in the
afternoon; for at that time the prepa-
ration of the Sabbath begins. I advise
you to fast five Fridays in the year, be-
ginning with Good Friday, and so con-
tinue the four Fridays following in
remembrance of the five bloody
wounds I received for mankind. You
diligently and peaceably labor in your
respective vocations, which it hath
pleased Almighty God to place you;
you shall love one another with broth-
erly love, and cause them that are not
baptized to come to church and receive
the Holy Sacrament and be made mem-
bers thereof; and in so doing I will
give you many blessings, and comfort
you in great temptations; and surely
he that doeth to the contrary shall be
cursed and be unprofitable; I will also
send hardships of heart upon them, but
especially upon them and more espe-

cially upon impenitent sinners, and unbelievers. He that gives not to the poor shall be unprofitable. Remember to keep holy the Sabbath day, for the seventh day I have taken to myself; and he that hath a copy of this letter, and keeps it without publishing it to others shall not prosper, and they that publish it to others shall be blessed of Me, and, if their sins shall be in number as the stars of the firmament, and believe in this, they shall be pardoned. And if they believe not in the writing; and keep not My commandments I will send My plagues upon them, and consume both them and their children, and their cattle; and whoever shall have a copy of this letter and keeps it in the house, nothing shall do them any damage, neither pestilence, lightning or thunder shall hurt them; and if any woman be with child and in labor, if a copy of this letter be about her, and she firmly puts her trust in it, she shall be safely delivered of her birth. You shall hear no more of Me, but of the blessed Spirit, until the day of judgment."

PRICE 5 CENTS.

In conclusion, I will mention a few illustrations upon the exorcism of fire, which in its minor practice, known as fire-blowing or pow-wowning a burn, still has a firm hold in some of our rural communities.

The Ephrata Cloister buildings, it will be recalled, were all built of wood; even the large chimney flues were originally of that inflammable material, lined with clay or grout, as may be seen by a visit to the loft of the old Brotherhood-house, which is still standing.

It has often been a matter of surprise that during the whole history of the mystic community on the Cocalico

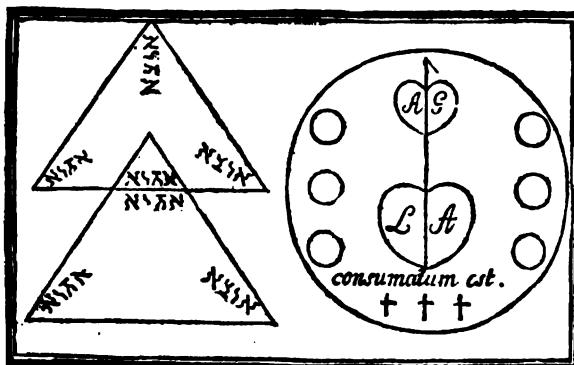
there was never any loss by fire among the buildings within the settlement proper; although, according to Sangmeister, several attempts were made to fire the buildings. There is, however, a record of two incendiary fires at the mill-seat of the Community, the first, upon the night of September 6, 1747, destroyed three out of five mills; the other in September, 1784, was extinguished without doing any material damage. This immunity from the devouring element has been attributed to the mystic ritual used by the Brotherhood, which was believed to control the element of fire.

During the early part of last century the belief in the exorcism of fire was almost as universal among the German peasantry in this Province as it was in the Fatherland. Various were the formulas, receipts, and Feuer-segen which, it was believed, would extinguish a conflagration. The means, however, employed by the Zionitic Brotherhood for the protection of the Cloister buildings were supposed to be both protective and preventive.

The procedure was as follows: A wooden plate or platter was taken, similar to the one used for sacramental purposes, still to be seen in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This was placed upon the communion table in the Saal, to remain there during a certain phase of the moon, until the proper day and hour arrived to give it the mystical inscription from which it was to derive its occult power and thereby ensure its efficiency. The only day upon which this power could be obtained was a certain Friday in the waning moon, and then only between the hours of eleven and twelve at night, using a new quill pen, also plucked from the goose at night during the decline of the lunar orb. The ink or pigment to be used

must be freshly made from gall-apples gathered from a gnarled oak in or near a graveyard. No iron was to be used in its preparation.

At the appointed time certain mystical incantations were spoken over the platter; then three circles were drawn perpendicularly on opposite sides of the plate; then a centre line was drawn, not extending to the edges, and at the top the line was curved so as to form a hook. Two hearts were then drawn so that one-half of each heart was upon either side of the line, the upper one being somewhat smaller than the other. On the left side of the upper heart was drawn the letter A, either in Latin or Hebrew characters. Upon the right side appeared the letter G. Upon the lower heart the letters L and A were placed in the same order. Below these figures were the words *Consomatum est*, and beneath were three crosses.



Used at the Exorcism of Fire.

The meaning of the inscription is as follows: The mystical letters A, G, L, A, by themselves denote nothing. To the initiate of the Zionitic Brotherhood they assumed great importance when properly used. The proper reading is from left to right, viz., A, G, L,

A, and represent four Hebrew words, Attah, Gibbohr, Leolam, Adonai; or, as rendered in German, Du bist stark in Ewigkeit HERR. (The Lord is strong and mighty in all eternity). The Latin inscription "Consumatum est" is the utterance of Christ upon the cross, "It is finished."

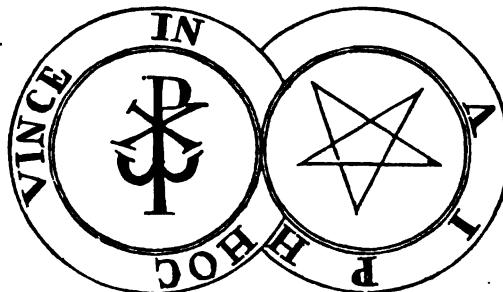
These plates were built in the walls or foundations of the houses. If the writer mistakes not it was at the four corners of the building. It is further stated that there is no case on record where any house or building thus protected ever became a prey to the flames. In the event of the burning of any building not thus protected the belief was that if a platter of this kind were thrown into the burning building in the name of God the fire would at once die out.

This was not the only method of conquering fire by conjuration. So firmly was the belief in Feuer-beschreibung engrained upon the popular mind that some persons who knew the ritual or formula were eagerly sought out by the German settlers to furnish them with the means of subduing any fire which might break out upon their premises.

In the Fatherland the Jews, gypsies, colliers and ash-burners were supposed to be in possession of the fire formulas. One of the commonest methods of the Hebrew exorcist was for the operator, in case of an outbreak of fire, to take a pan of live coals in his left hand and a can of water in his right. He would then place himself facing the burning building, staring fixedly at the fire, and repeat, in either Hebrew or German, by syllables, the second verse of the eleventh chapter of the fourth book of Moses (Numbers), "Da schrie das Volk zu Moses and Moses bat den Herrn, da verschwand das Feuer," "And the

people cried unto Moses; and when Moses prayed unto the Lord the fire was quenched." At the enunciation of every syllable the exorciser would pour some water on the pan of coals. The belief was that when these were extinguished the fire would also go out or be easily conquered.

Another method, and possibly the one most in favor, was by means of an amulet, or Feuer-zettel. This consisted of a piece of paper or parchment, upon which was drawn the shield of David; that is, a figure formed of two equilateral triangles, interlaced in such a manner as to give six angles, in each of which was written, in either Hebrew or Latin characters, the four mystic letters, A, G, L, A, or else the sacred name ADONAI.



Specimen of auhangsel amulet worn on the person, infallible against gunshot or stab wounds of any sort.

The sacred name or formula, it will be noticed, was introduced seven times into this figure. In case of a conflagration this mystic formula was to be quickly drawn, with chalk or charcoal, upon such buildings as were threatened, but had not yet ignited. According to an old tradition, it was by this means that the two mills of the Ephrata congregation were saved at the

time of the incendiary fire in 1747. To still the fire in the burning buildings the above-quoted verse, from Numbers, was to be quickly written on a wooden platter, paper or bread-crust, carried thrice around the burning building, and then thrown into the flames.

There was an Israelite in the Province, at an early date, who was particularly expert in the preparation of such amulets. Perhaps it was the same person who is noted in Benjamin Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette, under date of August, 1735, as being his debtor for Crown paper to the extent of two shillings. Franklin there calls him "Levi, the Jew." Another curious fact connected with these Feuer-zettel was that, to insure efficiency, no money could be asked for them. The party who prepared them laid them upon a table; the receiver left the remuneration in its place, folded in a triangular piece of white paper. The implied understanding, however, was that if a sufficient sum was not left the charm would not work. The amount was usually one or two shillings.

Another favorite method for conquering the devouring element was by means of the so-called Feuer-segen. This was a rhythmical incantation, which could only be communicated from one person to another of the opposite sex, and then only under certain conditions, for it had to be done upon a Friday, full moon, at night, between the hours of eleven and twelve. As it could only be transmitted by word of mouth, and never by writing, the teacher and pupil stood at opposite sides of a table upon which lighted candles were placed; the left hand of each was laid upon the heart; with the right hand three crosses were struck over the breast at the end of

each line, the pupil repeating after his teacher as follows:

"Feuer, steh still, um Gottes Will;
Um des Herrn Jesu Christi willen!
Feuer, steh still in deiner Gluth,
Wie Christus der Herr ist gestanden in
seinem rosinen-farbнем Blut!
Feuer und Gluth, Ich gebeut dir bei
Gottes Namen
Dass du nicht weiter kommst van dannen,
Sondern behaltest alle deine Funken und
Flammen.
Amen! Amen! Amen!"

Translated into English it would read:

"Fire, stand still, for God's sake;
For the Lord Jesus Christ's sake.
Fire, stand still in your consuming flame,
As Christ, the Lord, stood in His crim-
son-colored blood.
Fire and Flame, I command you, in the
name of God,
That you go not further from hence,
But confine all of your sparks and flames.
Amen! Amen! Amen!"

This fire-spell was, perhaps, the favorite one with the early settlers in Pennsylvania, and it has maintained itself even down to the present day. It was known as the Der Christliche Feuer-segen (The Christian fire conjuration), and was impotent in the possession of an Israelite. The method of using it was, in case of the outbreak of a fire, for the conjuror to hold two straws crosswise in his right hand and then slowly repeat the Feuer-segen, the firm belief being that so long as he held the crossed straws the flames could make no headway.

Various signs and omens were also thought to foretell the outbreak of a fire. Thus, when a dog howled, it was supposed to portend a fire. The omen most feared, however, was when a clock struck the hour during the tolling of a church bell. This was believed to be a sure sign of a conflagration during the next twenty-four hours within the sound of the bell. So firmly

was this believed that almost all sextons and bellringers were careful to avoid such a coincidence.

In the event of a barn or stable taking fire in some mysterious manner, such as where no lights or fire were upon the premises, the common belief was that it was caused by the ordinary horned beetle, which was supposed to carry with its claws upon its head live coals from the hearth in the house to the haymow or stable. Whenever no direct cause could be assigned for a stable fire it was invariably laid to this harmless insect.

The writer will now touch upon the bespeaking of fire, usually called "pow-wowning a burn" or "fire-blowing," a method of curing minor ills which still has a strong hold upon the credulity of the rural inhabitants in Eastern Pennsylvania. To prove the latter assertion it is but simply necessary to mention that within the last ten years a book of forms has been published for private circulation. The formula for "bespeaking" or "blowing" a burn, or taking out the fire, was a scriptural one, communicable only from one person to another of the opposite sex. We will close with an illustration drawn from personal experience.

When quite a small lad I was taken upon a visit to an old man in Flourtown, on the Springhouse pike, a short distance above Germantown. The immediate object of this visit was to obtain from him an old German folio Bible of family interest, and which is still in my possession. Boylike, after dinner I strayed from the house, and before long found myself in the village smithy, and, by some means or other, picked up a piece of hot iron. The result was a badly-burned hand. Running back across the pike into the house, howling as loudly as a strong pair of lungs would permit, everyone

in the house soon knew just what had happened.

Now, what to do was the question. Neither molasses, linseed oil nor lime-water was to be had upon the spur of the moment. So the old gentleman, who was a descendant from one of the old Kelpius community, suggested that he take me to an old woman in the neighborhood, who would besprech the burn and immediately take out the fire. A fip-penny bit was given me to leave on her table after the incantation was over. Well, the old woman was spare and thin, with very long bony fingers, a pair of brass spectacles perched upon her nose, and red tapes formed a garniture for her drooping eyelids. In fact, she was just what a child would picture to itself as a typical witch. Laying the burnt hand on the table, she immediately commenced making signs and crosses over the hurt with her long index finger, while she murmured her incantations—actions which, from the uncanny feeling excited in the lad, temporarily took away his thoughts from the injury. The howl stopped. This was taken as a sign that the charm was successful. The pain, however, soon returned, and the lad, struck with the ridiculous sight, broke out in laughter. This so incensed the old crone that she stated that before she could complete her cure something else was wanting. This something she wrote upon a piece of paper, in German characters, folded it carefully, and put it into the boy's pocket. It was not to be opened until he got home. Brought back to the house, the zettel was at once examined. It advised an immediate and thorough dusting of the lad's jacket with a pliable hazel or birch switch, well laid on, so as to teach him in future to respect old age and venerate a gray head. Well, he is glad to say this was not administered,

under the circumstances, and when the stage came along the boy was put aboard, with his injured hand tied up between two cakes of fresh smearKase, and, most assuredly, it was far more efficacious than the old crone's incantation.

However, there are hundreds of persons now living who will bear testimony in favor of the mystic pow-wow as a cure for burns.

The following is a translation of one of these forms. It is taken from an Ephrata manuscript of comparatively modern date, and is evidently a copy of a much older one:

"Depart out, Burn, and not inward;
Be you hot or cold, cease your burning.
God protect you, _____ (Here give
the name of patient),
Your blood and your flesh,
Your marrow and bones;
Your veins, be they great or small,
Be preserved, in God's name,
From Brand, both cold and warm.
In the name of God the Father! God the
Son! and of the Holy Ghost!"

The last line is to be repeated three times. At the close "Amen" is said. The sign of the cross is to be made over the burn or injury at each mention of the deity. Under the expression "cold brand," gangrene or mortification is to be understood.

In passing judgment upon our German ancestors about their superstitions and beliefs in prognostics, it will be well to bear in mind the period in which they lived and their primitive surroundings and sanguine temperament, and, before we condemn them, leave us now in the twentieth century summon up courage enough to walk under a ladder, or, in arising in the morning, put down our left foot first.

JULIUS F. SACHSE.

Early Post Roads in Eastern Pennsylvania.

An itinerary of the Post Roads established by the Postmaster General, and which were in operation in this and other localities in Eastern Pennsylvania, in 1816, is herewith presented. The mails were carried in wagons or coaches, which, in addition to the mail matter, also carried passengers and parcels, as well to increase the emoluments of the contractors as to render the community a service.

The names of the several mail stations along the way, and the distances from point to point, are of no little interest, even at this distant day. As the roads in these days generally took the most direct route, it will be noticed that the distances given in some cases are actually less than they are to-day, as traversed by the iron horse.

The first column represents the distances from point to point, and the second the distance from the starting point to the last-named point on each route mentioned. At most of the stations along the way a fresh span of horses was secured and the journey resumed with renewed vigor and speed.

The first route is that from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, beginning at the former city:

Buck	11	11
Admiral Warren	12	23
Daurinagh's	10	33
Wagen & Whitaker	8	41
McClean's	9	50
Bressler's	9	59
Lancaster Court	7	66
Cochran's Chickies	9	75

Elizabethtown	9	84
Middletown	8	92
Chambers' Ferry	6	98
Silver Spring	10	108
Carlisle	8	116
Turner's	10	126
Shippensburg	10	137
Strasburg	10	147
Skimer's	3	150
Burnt Cabbins	9	159
Littlestown	4	163
Wild's, at the foot of Sliding Hill	9	172
Crossing Juniata	10	182
Hartley's	8	190
Bedford	6	196
Bonner's	4	200

called Ryan's, at the foot of the Alle- gheny Mountains	7	207
Stanley's	8	215
Webster's Stony Creek	9	224
Wells	9	233
Fort Ligonier	12	245
Nine Mile Run	9	254
Greensburg	10	264
Waltour	8	272
Turtle Creek	12	284
Pittsburg	12	296

The traveler having made this trip would at that time have been pretty sure to lie over a week before venturing on the return trip. To-day he would most likely return the next day, being absent not longer than forty-eight hours.

The next is the itinerary of a trip from Lancaster to Reading. The first stop is at

Benjamin Landis'	4	4
Meyers' Mill	4	4
Cocalico Bridge	1	8
Reamstown	4	17
Adamstown	4	21
Reading	11	32

Thus we have reached the point that ends this journey, and have traversed through some of the finest scenery in Lancaster and Berks counties, and enjoyed the trip.

The next journey is from Reading to Philadelphia. The first point en route is:

Drury's	7	..
Potts'	9	16
Widow Lloyd's	8	24
Perkiomen Creek	6	30
Bartle Stalls	6	36
Plymouth Meeting-house	4	40
Robin Hood	10	50
Philadelphia	4	54

We will also take a trip upon our return from Philadelphia, first going to Harrisburg, traversing the beautiful Lebanon Valley. The first station is

Reynolds'	4	...
Cockasing Creek	1	5
Conrad Weiser's	8	9
Benjamin Spiker's	3	16
F. Hatheroud's	4	20
John Gudder's	8	28
Galbraith's	13	41
Harris', on the Swatara	3	44
Harrisburg	12	56

We will take in another trip with Reading as our starting point, and go to Easton, a distance of fifty-two miles. First we reach

Perrins	6	6
De Levan's	12	18
County Line	4	22
Dachler's	6	28
Cedar Creek	6	34
West bank of the Delaware.	3	37
Bethlehem	5	42
Easton	10	52

The last trip we will take is from Philadelphia to Bethlehem, which is

rich in historic interest. First we stop with

B. Davis	16	16
Baptist Meeting-house	7	23
Housekeeper's	2	25
Swamp Meeting-house	13	38
Christopher Weigner's	9	47
Bethlehem	6	53

Thus we have taken six different trips, and have traveled 533 miles one way, and passed many interesting points in our journey through our native State. The data for this paper was taken from the Lancaster Calendar for 1816. It was published by Anto. Albright, who had a book store on Prince street, two doors north of the prison, as he says on the front page of his almanac.

HIRAM ERB STEINMETZ.

Minutes of February Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 6, 1903.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held in the Society's rooms, in the Y. M. C. A. building, this afternoon. In the temporary absence of President Steinman, Rev. Dr. J. W. Hassler presided. After the roll call, the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting was dispensed with, owing to the length of one of the papers to be read.

The applications of the following persons for membership were received: Miss Martha G. Kline, Mrs. A. K. Hostetter, J. Chester Jackson, John D. Skiles and John Hertzler, all of Lancaster.

The donations to the Society consisted of the following articles: Fourth series of the State Archives (twelve volumes), by Hon. W. H. Brosius; I. D. Rupp's "History of All Religious Denominations," by Miss Hannah Holbrook; four photographs, by C. B. Hollinger, among which was that of a forge in the southern end of the county, 150 years old, and still used, and a photograph of the old soldiers' monument at Ephrata before the new one was erected, and several others; also, a roster of the old Fencible Band, a magazine article by S. H. Ranck, History of Lancaster Classis, by Rev. D. W. Gerhard, and the usual number of exchanges. The thanks of the Society were extended to all the donors for their gifts.

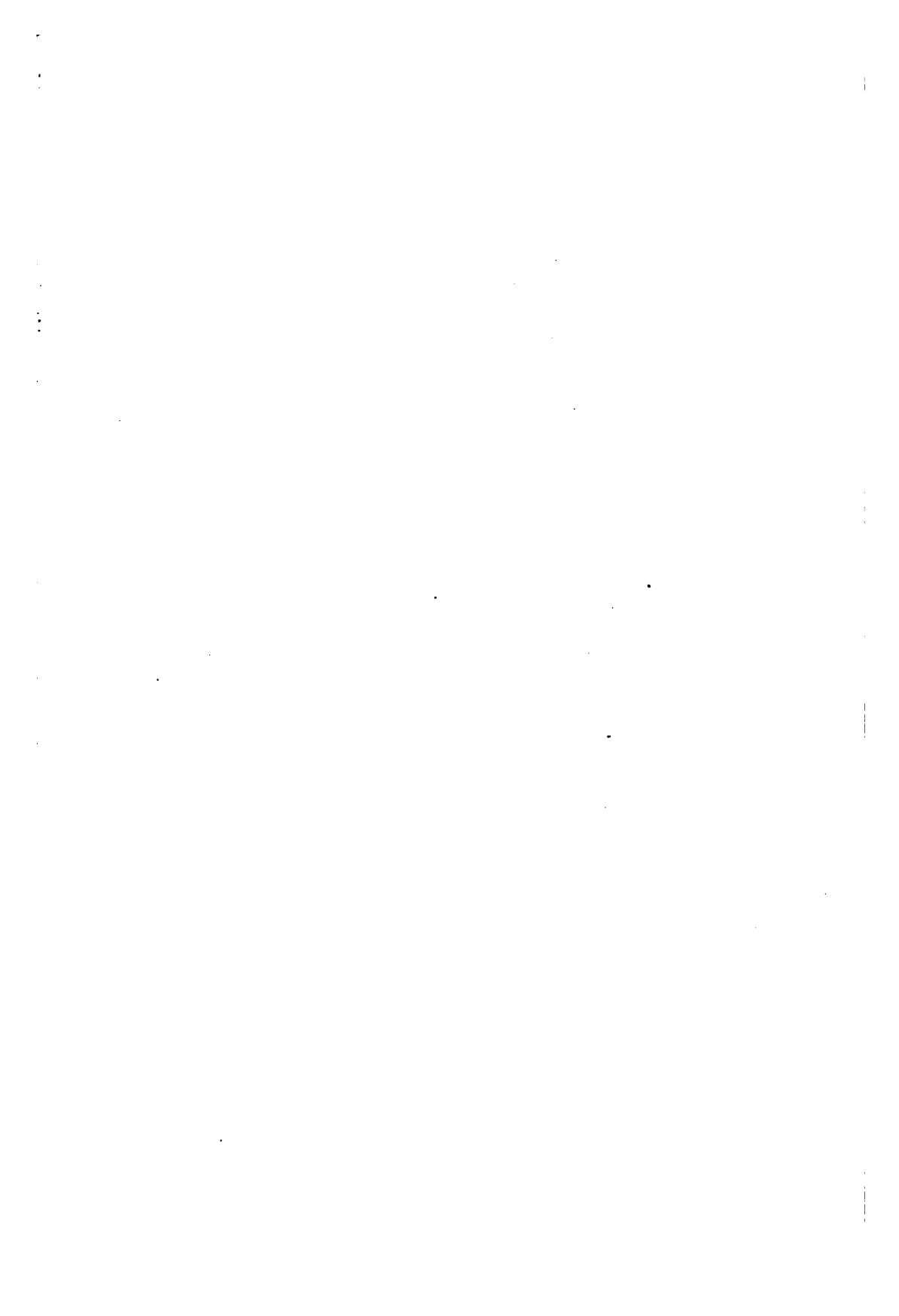
A paper on "Prognostics and Superstitions Current Among Pennsylvanians," prepared by Dr. Julius F.

Sachse, was read by the Secretary. It was quite lengthy, and dealt with all the beliefs, incantations, pow-wowning, and other practices prevailing among the immigrants to the Province, German and Scotch-Irish, during the past two hundred years, and most of which are still current among the people. The reading of the paper was heard with much attention, and was followed by a long discussion by half a dozen or more members, ladies as well as gentlemen, which proved equally interesting, and threw much further light on the subject. It was followed by an interesting paper on "The Early Post-Roads of Pennsylvania," by H. E. Steinmetz, who, at some length, gave the distance and stopping places of the mail coaches along all the main lines in Eastern Pennsylvania.

The thanks of the Society were extended to the writers of the foregoing papers for their valuable contributions, and they were ordered to be printed in the usual way.

On motion of Dr. Houston, a committee of three was named by the President to devise some way to make the library of the Society more easily accessible to the members. The committee consists of the President, Secretary and Librarian.

The meeting was the best-attended of any the Society has held for a year, a number of persons other than members being present. The attendance of so many ladies was especially gratifying. The Society is now in excellent condition, and is doing good work. It invites donations of books, photographs and curios of all kinds bearing on the history of the county, and deserves to have large accessions to its membership.



PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MARCH 6, 1903.



COL. JOHN CONNOLLY: LOYALIST.

VOL. VII. NO. 6.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1903.

Col. John Connolly : Loyalist	-	-	-	-	-	109
BY F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.						
Minutes of March Meeting	-	-	-	-	-	140

Col. John Connolly.

It was my intention to prepare an article for our Society on the Loyalists of the country during the Revolutionary era, singling out the more notable ones of Pennsylvania for notice in detail, but my researches resulted in such a mass of material as precluded all idea of dealing with the subject in a paper of reasonable length. I, therefore, decided to take up but a single one of these men, and have chosen one who was born in this county, and whose career was perhaps as notable as that of any other. He was not a politician, like Joseph Galloway, who is, perhaps, the best known of all the Loyalists whose histories are identified with that of Pennsylvania, but he was, nevertheless, a most conspicuous character in our annals, with a distinctly local flavor. I have, therefore, selected him as the subject of this paper, reserving for some future time a fuller discussion of the general subject of the Loyalist element in this State and country.

John Connolly was born in Manor township, this county, about the year 1742 or 1743, on the farm at present in the ownership of Mr. George Brenerman, formerly Jacob Shuman's place. It was located within half a mile of the line of the old Conestoga Manor. His mother's name was Susanna Howard, a sister of Gordon Howard, a prominent Indian trader. She was married early in the eighteenth century, probably about 1708, to James Patterson, in Ireland. Her husband died in 1735. Mrs. Patterson was married a second time in 1736, taking for her husband Captain Thomas Ewing, who was a staunch Presbyterian and a member of

the Donegal Church. Two sons were born of this marriage—the one, James, was a Captain in the French and Indian War, and later became a General in the Revolutionary struggle on the patriot side, and the other, John, was also an officer in the same struggle.

Birth and Early Education.

Mr. Ewing died in 1741, and a year later his widow married for the third time, taking for her husband an Irish officer in the British service, but who earlier had been a surgeon in the British army, named John Connolly. It was of this marriage that the subject of this sketch was born, at the homestead, in Manor township. By her various marriages Connolly's mother became quite wealthy. Soon after the birth of this son the family moved to Lancaster borough, occupying a house on South Prince street, where they lived and died—the mother in 1755, he earlier. Mr. Connolly was elected a vestryman of St. James' Episcopal Church October 3, 1744.

Upon the death of his mother, James Wright, of Columbia, was appointed the guardian of the young lad, who was given all the advantages in the way of education which Lancaster at that time afforded. Being naturally bright, he seems to have learned rapidly, and the sketch of his career, written and published by him in London in 1783, and upon which I have liberally drawn in the preparation of this paper, proves him to have been a man of vigorous mind and a very capable writer. He himself says: "I received as perfect an education as that country could afford."

He appears to have had an inclination to follow his father's early pursuit, that of medicine, and was, accordingly, apprenticed, as was the custom of that day, to Dr. Cadwalader Evans, of Philadelphia. Before the

conclusion of his period of apprenticeship he induced his guardian to buy out his unexpired time, which was done, the sum paid being £100.

On the Western Frontier.

Speaking of himself at this period, Mr. Connolly says: "My natural bent of mind, however, determined otherwise. It was my ambition to be a soldier, and this passion was so prevalent that, contrary to the wishes of my friends, I went as a volunteer, while yet a youth, to Martinico, where I endeavored to distinguish myself, as far as inexperience and an unimportant station would admit." It is stated in Evans & Ellis' History of Lancaster County that he had probably become addicted to a roving life in consequence of having accompanied the well-known trader and soldier, Colonel George Croghan, who, the same authority states, was his uncle, while on the latter's trading excursions into the regions beyond Ohio. On this subject, however, Colonel Connolly's own narrative is silent. He does say that "after the peace of 1762 the North American Indians formed a general confederacy to destroy our frontier settlements and demolish the garrisons. The British commander-in-chief was obliged to send an army to repel these invaders, in which, once more a volunteer, I served two campaigns, at my own private expense. I explored our newly-acquired territory, visited the various tribes of native Americans, studied their different manners and customs, undertook the most toilsome marches with them through the extensive wilds of Canada, and depended upon the precarious chase for my subsistence for months successively."

In Business in Illinois.

Recurring again to Evans & Ellis' history, I find that he was, as he says,

with the detachment of troops sent to the Illinois country to set up a form of civil government. Indian traders had established a large store at Kaskaskia, and the store accounts show that on the 8th of December, 1768, he purchased various articles at the store, and on the following day a number of household articles, such as knives, forks, tablecloths and a tea kettle. In February, 1769, he formed a partnership with one, Joseph Hollingshead, and these two purchased goods at the large trader's store to the amount of £4969.12.6, and also boats for an additional £1,000. Still other purchases were made soon after, which seems to show the new firm had plenty of cash, or else excellent credit. Doubtless, he had received money from his mother's estate. It is also noted that in the same year, 1769, his wife was charged with various purchases made at the traders' store, which would indicate that he must have been married at that time. Misfortune appears to have come upon the new firm, for, in 1771, Connolly suddenly left the neighborhood, and was greatly in debt. He went up the Ohio River to Pittsburg, where he met Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, who was later destined to exercise such an extraordinary influence over him.

Governor Dunmore, of Virginia.

I must here pause a little in the direct course of my narrative to speak of the cause that took the Governor of Virginia to Pittsburg. Lord Dunmore was a land and fee-grabber, if ever there was one on the American Continent. While Governor of New York he had acquired a tract of 50,000 acres of land, and himself acting as chancellor, was, according to Bancroft, preparing to decide in his own Court, in his own favor, a large and unfounded claim to more lands. When he came

to Virginia his passion for land seemed to increase. He secured two large tracts from the Indians, and in the name of the colony of Virginia attempted to extend his jurisdiction over the western part of Pennsylvania, including Pittsburg, then a little town of some thirty log huts, and all without notification to the proprietors of Pennsylvania.

Dunmore's Willing Henchman.

Connolly, doctor, land-grabber and subservient political intriguer, was a man after Lord Dunmore's own heart, and then and there made himself the pliant tool of Virginia's Governor. At this time, also, his Tory proclivities seem to have manifested themselves for the first time, so far as the records show, for the trouble with the mother country was beginning to be discussed on every hand. Connolly was given a commission by the Governor of Virginia to organize the militia, to appoint Justices of the Peace and do all other acts which seemed necessary under the circumstances. Accordingly, in the beginning of 1774, Connolly raised an armed force in West Augusta, a name given to that part of Virginia lying beyond the Blue Ridge, took possession of Fort Pitt, the name of which he changed to Fort Dunmore, and issued a proclamation asserting the right of Virginia to the territory embraced by Westmoreland, Fayette, Green and Washington counties, where many settlers had been induced to take up lands on Virginia warrants. He opposed the action of the Pennsylvania Magistrates, took private property from citizens and treated all who demurred with great insolence. His justices adopted stringent measures against those who held the rights of Pennsylvania, and for a time the country was virtually held as a part of Virginia. Arthur St. Clair, in the name of

Governor John Penn, kept a close watch on Connolly. The latter was finally arrested on January 24, 1774, and placed in jail, but he prevailed on the Sheriff to be allowed to visit some of his fellow-conspirators, and after hanging around a few days, instead of returning to jail, as he had promised the Sheriff, he went to the Red Stone settlement and raised about twenty armed men, who saw him safely to the Virginia frontier. He returned in March and again gathered a guard of armed men about him. He had two letters from Governor Dunmore, which he read to an assemblage of people, some of them Magistrates, in which he was congratulated for what he had done. Connolly and his party proved too strong for the Pennsylvanians. When the Sheriff of the district had a writ served on one of Dunmore's military Lieutenants, Connolly actually had the Sheriff arrested, and prevented the Pennsylvania Magistrates from exercising their offices.

Public Outcry Against Him.

Aeneas Mackay, one of Governor Penn's Magistrates, in writing to the latter, said: "The Doctor is now in actual possession of the Fort (Pitt), with a Body Guard of Militia about him, Invested, we are told, with both Civil & Military power, to put the Virginia Law in Force in these parts..... It is most certain the Doctor is Determined to Carry his point or lose his life in the attempt, and it's equally certain that he has all the encouragement and promises of support that he can wish for..... Lord Dunmore has actually enclosed twelve Commissions to the Doctor to fill up for militia officers at his own Discretion." Connolly's acting Sheriff on April 8, 1774, arrested three Magistrates who were holding the usual Court. He insisted they should give bail for trial at Staun-

ton, Virginia, but, on refusing, were put into jail. On April 6, he, with about 200 armed men, surrounded the Court House of Westmoreland county and prevented Court being held there. In short, Connolly's conduct was so outrageous that on June 25, 1774, the Magistrates sent a petition and statement to Governor Penn, recounting some of his illegal acts and charging him with inciting the Indians to kill the Pennsylvania settlers. They enumerate nine distinct outrages, which include nearly all the crimes in the calendar except murder. He prohibited any furs to be sent east without paying an export duty to Virginia.

Governor Penn Complains.

Things went so far that Governor Penn at last complained to the home Government, and the Earl of Dartmouth sent a sharp letter to Governor Dunmore, winding up as follows: "My Intelligence through a variety of other Channels confirms these facts, and adds further that this Connolly, using your Lordship's Name, and pleading your Authority, has presumed to re-establish the Fort at Pittsburg, which was demolished by the King's express orders: That he has destroyed the King's boats, which were kept there for the purpose of a Communication with the Illinois Country, and that parties were sent out by his authority, or under his direction, for the purpose of building Forts lower down the River Ohio. The Duty I owe the King, and the Regard I entertain for your Lordship, induces me to take the earliest opportunity of acquainting your Lordship with this information, to the end that the facts asserted, if not true, may be contradicted by your Lordship's authority, but, if otherwise, which I cannot suppose to be the Case, such steps may be taken as the King's Dignity & Justice shall dictate."

The Revolutionary War Interferes.

Things meanwhile were shaping themselves in a way that put an end to Dunmore and Connolly's reign of lawlessness and terror in Western Pennsylvania. Connolly himself tells the story in his autobiography. The troubles between the Colonies and Britain kept growing more threatening. Then came the battle of Bunker Hill. He says: "The flames of rebellion began openly to blaze. I had written to Lord Dunmore for instructions respecting my conduct, who, I found, would be obliged to quit his government; and received for answer, that he advised me to disband the troops, at the time limited by the Act of Assembly, that they might have no cause of complaint on that head; that I should convene the Indians to a general treaty, restore the prisoners, and endeavor to incline them to espouse the royal cause.....I had most assiduously cultivated the friendship, and insinuated myself into the favor of the Indians; had convinced them of the advantages that might accrue to their nations, by adhering to the British Government.Thus I secretly frustrated the machinations of the Republicans, while I received their thanks and procured assurances from the Indian chiefs to support His Majesty.....As nothing great or good could be effected in times like these without risk, I considered only what plan was best at such conjuncture; and, having determined, resolved to act with vigor, as a temporizing neutrality was neither consistent with my principles nor my passions. My design briefly, was, first, to engage as many gentlemen of consequence as possible to join me in the defense of the government, and afterwards to make my way through the country, visit Lord Dunmore, who was now driven, for personal safety, on

board a ship lying at Norfolk; consult with him, and take his instructions concerning the most effectual mode I and my adherents could pursue to serve His Majesty."

Continues to Scheme—Is Arrested.

Connolly then proceeds to tell how he went to work. He invited his best and tried friends to an entertainment and endeavored to encourage them to express their sentiments freely. He gave tone to the conversation, and says he found them universally enraged against what he calls the arbitrary proceedings of the patriot party, and he told them that he felt assured that nothing but a revolution and independence was aimed at, no matter what they pretended. He took some of the most confidential aside, told them of his plans and urged their hearty co-operation. The result, he says, was a solemn compact by which it was agreed that if an accommodation was not reached and he could procure the necessary authority to raise men, that they would engage to restore the authority of the King.

But while he was intriguing and carrying on his treasonable plans, Mr. St. Clair, either acting under instructions from Philadelphia or upon his own volition, had Connolly arrested. This man St. Clair was Clerk of Westmoreland county, under Pennsylvania authority. He was a Scotchman, had been a subaltern officer in the British army during the French and Indian War, and was then a loyal Pennsylvanian. Later he became a General in the Revolutionary War and rendered able service to the cause of the Colonies. His unfortunate campaign against the Western Indians is well known. In a letter to Governor Penn, dated at Ligonier, February 2, 1774, he says: "Doctor Connolly was arrested previous to the meeting by my orders,

on his owning himself the author of the 'Advertisements' requiring the people to meet as a Militia, and committed on refusing to find sureties for his good Behaviour till next Court. The only result of the arrest was that he got away through a promise made to the Sheriff to be on hand when he should be wanted, but he left the country for a while to visit Lord Dunmore, and later returned to raise much more trouble."

His Second Arrest.

But his second arrest followed later. The only account we have of it is from his own pen. It followed the night after the already described conference he had with his Tory adherents, and when he was about to set out to secure the interview which he desired to have with Lord Dunmore. He writes: "The circumspection and art necessary to escape to Lord Dunmore occasioned some preparatory delay, and the following incident will give a lively picture of the anarchy of the times. Two nights before my intended departure, my servant entered my room at midnight to inform me that an express was just arrived, with despatches from Lord Dunmore, and desired admittance. I ordered him to be brought in, and immediately a man followed my servant in a traveling dress, with a packet in his hand. I drew my curtain, received it, and was breaking open the seal, when the villain seized me by the throat, presented a pistol at my breast, told me I was his prisoner, and, if I offered the least resistance, a dead man. I had been so long learning to despise danger and acquire fortitude that I was not easily to be intimidated. I rightly suspected he had accomplices, so leaping up, I drove the fellow back, seized him, and while struggling gave the door a kick, and shut it by the spring lock. I

called to my servant for my sword or pistols; but to his stupefaction, it is probable, I owe my present existence; for though I should have killed my antagonist in self-defense, I should have fallen the immediate martyr of revenge. My door was quickly burst open by his armed coadjutors, about twenty in number; the contest becoming unequal, I was scarcely allowed time to dress; my servants were secured; I was mounted on a horse and brought for the purpose, hurried away, and obliged to ride all night at the risk of my neck, till about ten o'clock in the morning, when I found myself at Ligonier, fifty miles from Pittsburg. I soon learned I was in the power of my inveterate enemy; the commander of the militia, and the principal man of the place (St. Clair), who had taken this opportunity of wreaking his malice, under pretense of seizing a dangerous person and a Tory, an appellation lately revived and given by the republicans to the loyalists; and which the common people were taught to hold in such abhorrence that Tory was, in their imaginations, synonymous to everything vile and wicked."

A Fortunate Release.

His narrative at this point is very precise and voluminous, and I can only give the main incidents in a greatly abbreviated form. He says he looked for a rescue by his Tory friends. He was informed he would be sent to Philadelphia to answer to Congress for his conduct. He looked for some means to escape. He magnified a slight ailment that he might be allowed to go to bed, where he remained all day and night. When about to set out on the following morning an express rider rode up, who told the guard having Connolly in charge that a rescuing party was awaiting them. After some conversation with the officer in charge he was released and returned home.

Once more he started out on his plan to visit Lord Dunmore, taking three Indian chiefs with him to disarm suspicion, as it was known he always had treaty relations with the Indian tribes. At Frederick, Md., he met a large gathering of men who differed with him in his political views, but although he kept a close guard on his tongue, he was told he was suspected. Before he could get away letters were received, assuring the patriots there of his Tory principles and expressing the belief he was on his way to join Lord Dunmore.

Reaches Lord Dunmore at Last.

Once more luck favored him. A Patriot convention had been held at Richmond, and a messenger with despatches from the President of that body arrived at Frederick, approving of his treaty with the Indians in behalf of Virginia and requesting him to proceed to Richmond with all despatch, with his Indian chiefs. All this served to dispel in some measure the fears the patriots at Frederick entertained, and he was once more allowed to depart. He had dined with General Mercer while at Frederick, and as he did not drink what he calls "the inflammatory toasts" proposed, a spy was set upon him at his departure. He had the address to shake him off, however, and finally reached Yorktown, and soon after joined Lord Dunmore on shipboard, where the growing patriotic sentiments of the people had driven him. He was happy. Twice a prisoner and twice rescued, he was now with a man whose loyal sentiments coincided with his own, and his heart beat high in the hope of helping along the royal cause.

Both he and Dunmore hoped General Howe, who was expected at Boston, would send troops into Virginia, and that the royal authority would be re-

stored. To further this prospect, Connolly was sent on a mission to General Gage, then the British Commander-in-Chief, at Boston, to lay this scheme before that officer. But it was necessary, meanwhile, to assure the Indians in league with Virginia, so Dunmore gave a letter for the Chiefs to Connolly, with instructions to give it to a mutual friend for transmission and interpretation, one, John Gibson. This man Gibeon was the son of Lancaster's first inn keeper, "Hickory Tree" Gibson. He and Connolly had been schoolmates at Lancaster, hence the latter's confidence in him. With that letter also went one from Connolly, who expressed his Tory sentiments very freely. Unfortunately for the latter, Gibson was a sincere patriot, and at once laid the letter before the nearest county committee, and that in the end proved Connolly's undoing. But I anticipate.

He Sails for Boston.

Armed with letters and instructions from Lord Dunmore, a small sloop was provided for him, and, after a ten-days' voyage, he landed at Boston, and laid the plans before General Gage, who, he says, approved of them. He returned to Virginia, stopping at New York, by the way, and reached Portsmouth in October. On November 5, 1775, he received a commission as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant in His Majesty King George's service, with full power and authority to raise a battalion of men, and as many independent companies as he could. The design was to march with these men and regulars from the British army to Pittsburg and Detroit, cut off communication between the Northern and Southern colonies, and give a favorable turn to the King's affairs in the Southern Provinces. As a preliminary to all this, it was deemed expedient that he should

go to Detroit. He took the shortest route, through Maryland. His instructions and his commission were carefully concealed in the sticks of his servant's pillion, artfully contrived for the purpose.

Returns and Again Arrested.

He, with several other staunch Loylists, took up his journey on November 13, 1775. They proceeded safely until the 19th, when they were on the Virginia frontier, and almost out of danger. They stopped to pass the night at Hagerstown. Before reaching that place, however, a man who had served under him in the old Pittsburg times passed them and called him by name. This man also stopped for the night at Hagerstown, and, while in a saloon, was asked who the strangers were who had just left town. He at once said one was Major Connolly, of Pittsburg fame. Unfortunately, a copy of his letter to Mr. Gibson had been sent to the Colonel of the local Minute Men. That officer was at once notified that the prominent Tory Connolly had left the town, and he promptly sent out a squad, who arrested the entire party, and brought them back to Hagerstown. Here he was quickly recognized by an officer whom he knew, and who had been in Boston at the same time as Connolly. He told the latter that General Washington knew the time of his arrival and the very day he left, and that it was suspected he would try to enter Canada. Attempts at denial would have been of no avail, so none were made.

Leaves for Philadelphia.

This time he was a prisoner for keeps, and so he remained for many a long day. Of course, it was supposed he carried convicting documents, but every search made proved unavailing, and his baggage was returned to him.

His servant, who was hitherto in ignorance of what was concealed in his pillow, made an examination of the same, found the papers, and burned them all save Connolly's commission as Colonel, which was secretly conveyed to Connolly by the hands of a negro servant girl. On the following day, December 29, 1775, he was started on his journey to Philadelphia, escorted by a squad of dragoons. His spurs were removed, and the horses of himself and several friends who were with him were placed abreast, their heads tied together to prevent any attempt to escape. Two days later they reached York, where they were put into the county jail for security over night, where, Connolly says, there was a dirty straw bed and little covering. On the next day, January 1, 1776, they were conducted to the tavern where their horses were by a guard of soldiers, a drum beating the rogues' march. The town people ironically and most vociferously wished them all the compliments of the season!

The cavalcade was accompanied by a large concourse of people to Wright's Ferry (Wrightsville). Here he met his half-brother, which one he does not say, but it was no doubt James Ewing. By request, he was allowed to walk across the Susquehanna then frozen over, in company with his brother. That night he slept in Lancaster, and two days later reached Philadelphia, where a uniformed militia association took charge of him. He had an interview with the Council of Safety that same evening, and then again went to prison.

Complains of Ill Treatment.

He complains bitterly of his treatment. I will quote his own words. He says: "My servant, too, was now involved in the severity practiced upon me, and we were all three shut up in a

dirty room, in which we could obtain nothing but an old pair of blankets, and that only in consideration of a considerable premium to the gaoler. In this state we continued in the depth of winter for ten days, without a change of linen, before we could get our clothes out of the hands of the Council of Safety; at length they were restored, and, by virtue of pecuniary influence, we obtained something that the keeper called a bed. Here we remained until the latter end of January, when we were removed to a new and elegant prison, then lately erected, whither we were escorted with great formality, and again honored with a rogues' march. Thus Congress was determined not only to hold me up as a public example of political vengeance to the Loyalists, but to take every means possible to degrade and render me contemptible."

He also found fault because he was accorded no military recognition. It was well known he was a Major in the service of Virginia, and held a Lieutenant Colonel's commission in the English service, but as often as he was officially mentioned it was as plain John Connolly, or, facetiously, "Doctor," all of which greatly worried our hero, as he regarded himself. Even while in jail he was intriguing. A Highlander who had taken the oath of allegiance came daily to make his fires. He procured paper and ink and wrote a letter to a friend in Ohio, and his new-found Scotch ally found means to forward the letter. "By this means," he says, "I endeavoured to preserve His Majesty's garrison, stores and ordnance; but as the transaction became ultimately known to Congress, it did not tend to lessen their severities."

Writes to President Wharton.

Another letter which I find from him was addressed to President Whar-

ton, and bears date of February 25, 1776, written at the Ship tavern, while on his way from York to Philadelphia, part of which I quote:

"Immediately upon the order of the Council of Safety being communicated to me, I should have set out without loss of time for Philadelphia, but my continual indisposition and the lameness of one of my Horses, together with the extreme bad Weather, rendered it impossible for me to manifest a readier obedience than by setting out upon the 23d. Fully acquainted with the violent prejudices which prevail against me; as well as sensible of many malicious and groundless reports equally disadvantageous, I have thought proper to dispatch my servant before me, in order to acquaint you, that I am so far advanced upon my journey; apprehensive that a day or two longer might give rise to some unfavorable impressions, tho' more expedition in my present state of health I am really incapable to make."

Through the interest of his brother, James Ewing, who was now a general officer in the Continental service, he was enlarged on his parole. This was owing to his continual complaints concerning his health, which, if he is to be believed, was growing worse all the time, and even threatened his life. How seriously it was impaired—if at all—it is, of course, impossible to tell, but, as he was a chronic growler and kicker, there is abundant reason to believe that he was shamming to a large extent, and always with the hope and purpose of escaping in mind.

Arrives in Philadelphia.

One day later, on the evening of February 26, he reached Philadelphia, and at once wrote a letter, saying he had waited on the Council of Safety, but it had adjourned. He states he lodges at Mrs. Papley's, and places himself at the disposal of the Council.

After Connolly reached Philadelphia, the following action was taken by the Council of Safety, as appears by an order sent to the keeper of the city jail: "You are required to receive into your custody John Connolly and Allen Cameron, and their servants, charged with treasonable Practices against America, and keep them safely, without Pen, Ink or paper and from all intercourse with other persons until discharged by this Board or the orders of the Continental Congress." Four weeks later the Council, by direction of Congress, "went into an examination of Doct'r Connolly, and find him to be a person inimical to the Liberties and dangerous to these Colonies."

Mrs. Connolly's Allowance.

I find that in the summer of 1776 Mrs. Connolly was also held in Philadelphia. On the 15th of July, in that year, the minutes of the Council of Safety show that "The Hon'ble Continental Congress, having desired this Board to settle an Allowance for the Maintenance of Mrs. Connolly, and the Board taking the same into Consideration, do Resolve, That Mrs. Connolly be allowed 30s per week for the time she has been detained by Congress, and that in the future she be allowed 25s per week until otherwise directed by Congress." On August 22, 1776, Treasurer Nesbitt was directed to pay Mrs. Connolly £6.5.0 for five weeks' allowance.

The following facts as to his parole I may be allowed to quote from his narrative:

I find that on December 11, 1776, Connolly wrote the following letter to "The Council of Safety," of which Thomas Wharton was Chairman:

"Amidst the multiplicity of your concerns, permit me to demand your attention for a moment. Engaged as I have been in this unhappy national

contest, it has been my misfortune to have experienced a very long and rigorous confinement, highly aggravated by constant sickness; the effects of this complicated distress have reduced me to the lowest condition, and it may be thought expedient to remove me from hence, indiscriminately with other sufferers, to partake with them the inclemency of some Frontier Jail, without any regard to my very infirm state. I have taken the liberty to request your interposition in my favor, supposing it may be in the line of your Department, to alleviate the afflictions of those who are your prisoners, and at your disposal. As I require nothing inconsistent with your own safety, I flatter myself you will be pleased to give such directions with regard to me as may be correspondent with the feelings of humanity."

Twelve days later he wrote another letter to Chairman Wharton, rehearsing the same request and asking for the privilege of walking about in the daytime, promising to take no advantage from the indulgence, if it was granted.

Paroled on Bail.

It appears that he and his friends were making all possible efforts to secure his release from jail, on bail, as will be seen in the following action: At a meeting of the Provincial Council, held on April 2, 1777, it was ordered that "John Connolly, a prisoner confined in the Goal of this City (Philadelphia), be permitted to retire to the Plantation of James Ewing, Esq., (his half brother), giving security himself, in Two Thousand Pounds, and Two Freeholders in One Thousand Pounds each, this security being given for his good behavior, and that he will continue within five miles of the same vizt: That John Connolly do not either write to, speak or Correspond with any

person or persons, whatsoever, employed by or under the Authority of the King or Parliament of Great Britain, nor to or with any person or persons unfriendly to the United States of America, knowing them to be such, nor take up Arms, or employ or procure any other person or persons to take up Arms against the said States, or aid or assist the Enemies thereof in any sort whatsoever, nor do or say any matter or thing, directly or indirectly, which in any wise is or may be injurious to the said States or any of them: And that the said John Connolly do confine himself on the Plantation of the above-named James Ewing, and within five miles of the said Plantation, situated in the county of York, and the same whereon the said James Ewing now dwells, and that he, the John Connolly, shall be and appear before the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth, when thereto he shall be required, then the above obligation shall be void, or otherwise remain in full force and virtue."

Still Complaining.

A few days later Connolly sent the following letter to President Wharton: "I hereby transmit your Excellency the Obligation signed by my Brother, who has mistakenly struck out the words & severally as judging it, rendering Him liable for double the sum which he had entered into in the last Recognizance, the mistake your Excellency will observe to be his, from his letter which I here beg leave also to send.....I hope that the state of my health, & past sufferings will induce your Excellency to obviate any objection which might be alleged, in consequence of his mistake will greatly add to the civilities already received from your Excellency."

He remained on his brother's farm

in York county from April 11, 1777, until the 14th of the following October. On that day he was again apprehended by an order from the War Department and put into the York jail. Virginia had passed an act restoring the estates of all loyalists who renounced their allegiance to the King, but he gloried in having spurned the offer. The York prison at this time was greatly crowded with English prisoners, so that a contagious fever broke out. Connolly and five others wrote and sent a long and somewhat impudent letter to Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, in which they complained of being "subject to all the indignities and low insults of an illiberal goaler and turnkey, and placed upon the same footing with horse thieves, deserters, negroes, and the lowest and most desppicable of the human race."

He Gets Cold Comfort.

That letter was placed before the War Department and an investigation ordered. A long report followed the investigation. It proved in the most emphatic manner that Colonel Connolly was kicking, as usual; that things were not as stated; that these six complainants had three servants to wait on them, and that Connolly was put back into prison for prudential reasons, he "having also sundry times behaved amiss while on parole." It was not the first time he had complained and his complaints found to be groundless.

Colonel Connolly remained in the York jail until Lord Howe evacuated Philadelphia. Then he claims he was officially informed that he had been exchanged, but it turned out not to be so. Later, he says a letter was received at York from the American Commissary General of Prisoners, requiring him, along with others, to go to Eliza-

bethtown to be exchanged. He was paroled, obtained a passport for himself and servant to go to Philadelphia. He went, called on the Commissioner, showed his passport, and then, with his usual bad luck, and much to his disgust, was again clapped into jail. In his anger he wrote to the President of Congress, and got no reply. Then he wrote a letter to General Washington, and got this for an answer: "That he had transmitted Connolly's letter to the President of Congress, but could extend no relief, as the complainant was the immediate prisoner of that body."

Inveighs Against Congress.

At this point he breaks out again in one of his usual tirades against Congress, to which he had again written and asking why he had been refused an exchange, and on what pretext he had been subjected to such unparalleled injustice and indignities. Finally, he was taken before a committee and had a hearing. He was told he had not held to the spirit of his parole; that he had tried to turn the proceedings of Congress into ridicule; that he was not taken in actual warfare, but while trying to make his way through the country on a warlike mission, and was amenable to martial law as a spy. Connolly pretended extreme surprise at all this, and urged various reasons against such a judgment. A few days later he received from the committee the following brief note: "The committee appointed to take into consideration the application of Lieutenant Colonel Connolly request that that gentleman will inform them of his reasons for not producing and pleading his commission, at the time he was first taken, and for a considerable time afterwards." He does not give his reply to those pertinent questions, but says he "made them so cautious an answer

that they were obliged to drop this plea and once again take refuge under the Spy."

A Report on His Case.

The Committee made a long report to Congress, in which they went over the whole business from the beginning. That when first seized he was not in arms, but clandestinely making his way to join and aid the English garrison at Detroit; as was shown by his own intercepted letters. That no demand until quite recently was ever made by any British General for his release or exchange; that while a prisoner and debarred the use of pen and ink he continued to write and send letters to British officers in Detroit and Kaskaskia, which letters were captured on one of his agents; that while on parole on his brother's farm his conduct gave rise to grave suspicions; that during the same period he had twice tried to escape, despite his parole; and the report concludes in this wise: "Resolved. That Lieutenant Colonel John Connolly cannot, of right, claim to be considered and treated as a prisoner of war, but that he was, at the time he was apprehended, and still is, amenable to the law martial, as a spy and emissary from the British army;.....and that the repeated representations made by Lieutenant Colonel John Connolly, of the grievances he undergoes, are not founded on facts; that General Washington be directed to transmit the foregoing resolutions and state of facts to the Commander-in-Chief of His Britannic Majesty's forces in New York; and to inform the said officer that if, under the pretext of retaliating for the pretended sufferings of a person, who, by the law of nations, has no right to be considered as a prisoner of war, any American officer, entitled to be considered and treated as a prisoner of war, shall undergo any extraordinary re-

straints or sufferings, Congress are determined to retaliate on the person of an officer of the first rank in their possession, for every species of hardship or restraint on such account inflicted.

"(Signed.)

"CHARLES THOMPSON,

"Secretary."

Colonel Connolly's comments on the above report are, as usual, full of equivocation, evasions and explanations that do little else than beg the question. The Committee had taken his full measure and they made public the facts.

His Commission Certified To.

Although Connolly's commission was issued by his friend, Lord Dunmore, it was, nevertheless, held as entirely valid by the British War Department, as the following certificate sent by him to Congress testifies:

"Inspector General's Office,

"New York, Nov. 27, 1778.

"This is to certify that John Connolly, esq., was appointed Lieutenant Colonel in His Majesty's service by His Excellency, Lord Dunmore; and said Lieutenant Colonel Connolly is now confined in prison by the enemy in Philadelphia; and I further certify that I have received Lieutenant Colonel Connolly's full subsistence, up to the 25th of December, 1778: by order of His Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in North America.

"H. ROOK,

"D. I. G. Forces."

Some time after this report on Connolly's case was made, for some reason I have not been able to ascertain, he was denied the privilege of walking in the prison yard, locked in his room and denied all converse with outsiders. This order scared him, as he thought it meant his execution. Doubtless he had been again found



plotting, and this action was to head off his plans. After six weeks' close confinement he was again given the privilege of the jail yard. In April, his chronic excuse for securing special favors, sickness, was again brought forward. He got two Philadelphia doctors to certify to his condition and as a result he was allowed four hours on horseback daily, but compelled to go to his place of confinement at night.

In November, 1779, the War Department issued this order: "That the Commissary General of prisoners be authorized to exchange Lieutenant Colonel John Connolly, for any Lieutenant Colonel in the service of the United States, now a prisoner with the enemy. By order of Congress.

"CHARLES THOMPSON,
"Secretary."

He is Finally Exchanged.

He was given permission to go to New York on parole, first giving this pledge: "His Excellency, General Washington, having granted me permission to repair to the City of New York on parole, for the purpose of negotiating my exchange for that of Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsey, I do promise, on my word of honor and faith as a gentleman, that I will pass from here on the direct road to the said City of New York, by the way of Elizabeth Town, and that I will return to captivity at the expiration of one month from this day, unless within that time the above mentioned exchange is effected." Sir Henry Clinton also released Colonel Ramsey on his parole, but the final adjustment of the exchange did not take place until October 25, 1780, after he had been a prisoner nearly five years.

No sooner was Colonel Connolly a free man once more than his restless and irrepressible loyalty was again at work. "I was no sooner free," he

says, "than I was highly solicitous to be employed in the mode most likely to render service." He submitted a plan to Sir Henry Clinton proposing to attack the outposts on the frontiers of the Middle Colonies, seize Pittsburg and fortify the passes of the Alleghenies. The plan was put aside for the time being. He had been trying to raise a Tory regiment in New York, but failed, so he joined Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. He was placed in command of the Virginia and North Carolina Loyalists for operations on the peninsula formed by the James River and Chesapeake Bay.

Plots Anew and Again Captured.

But hard luck was again at hand. Being attacked by a severe spell of illness, he started to ride into the country to the home of a brother loyalist, but on the way three men arrested him and carried him to Newport News. He was then put into a boat and taken on a French warship, and the next day carried on shore to Gen. Washington's headquarters. He had known Washington before the war, and when both were at work on the Virginia and Pennsylvania borders. A letter from Washington to him shows them to have been on cordial terms. But things were changed now. He says: "I was now to see a man with whom I had formerly been upon a footing of intimacy, I may say friendship. Politics might induce us to meet like enemies in the field, but should not have made us personally so. I had small time for reflection; we met him on horseback coming to view the camp. I can only say the friendly sentiments he once publicly professed for me no longer existed. He ordered me to be conducted to the Marquis de la Fayette's quarters." Evidently he met a very cool reception; was snubbed. Washington had learned to know him and wanted nothing more to do with him.

Leaves for Europe.

Washington, however, paroled him and sent him sixty miles into the back country, where he remained until Yorktown was taken. He applied to be allowed to go New York with the rest of Cornwallis' officers, but was refused. The Governor of Virginia gave him permission to go to Philadelphia, where he arrived on December 12, 1782, where, after living at a public house about two weeks, he was once more put into jail on the charge of having broken his parole given in Virginia. Once more he wrote to General Washington, but the latter, instead of liberating him, was inclined to return him to Virginia. At last friends secured him permission to go to New York. When the British fleets began carrying their soldiers home Sir Guy Carleton gave Colonel Connolly permission to accompany them, and it was in London, in 1783, that he published the narrative of his adventures and affairs which I have in part detailed.

Character of the Man.

From its general character, from the manner in which his services, his difficulties, his imprisonment and repeated illnesses are detailed, it is plain his narrative was written for the purpose of securing consideration and compensation from the British Government. Everything he did is magnified to his own credit. The aim is to show how valuable his services were to Britain, and how much he had suffered and lost thereby. An air of exaggeration pervades all he says, evidently to strengthen his claim for recompense. The general facts are, in the main, correct, but they must be accepted with a wide margin of allowance from his irrepressible tendency to magnify his individual services. It is true, those services were unproductive of valuable results, but that was due to a series of

untoward circumstances over which he had no control. That he would lie, break the terms of his parole, and was ever ready to give the British any information he could to promote their cause is beyond all dispute. It crops out on every page of his narrative. The man was so thoroughly saturated with Toryism and so hated the cause of the Colonies that he could not do otherwise. I am persuaded he believed every species of hypocrisy and deception was justifiable when employed in the cause of King George the Third.

It only remains for me to gather the scattered and little-known facts of his after career. I have already told of his efforts to persuade the English Ministry to reimburse him for the losses he claimed to have sustained through his adherence to the cause of the Crown. How successful he was, and whether he ever got more than his pay as an officer in their service, I have failed to ascertain. Most probably he did not, because a few years later he was in this country again attempting to recover the lands he had forfeited by his disloyalty to the cause of the Colonies.

His Loyalty Did Not Pay.

He appears to have been needy during the Revolution and afterwards. His name does not occur among the three hundred and more names of Pennsylvanians who were attainted of treason, and whose estates were confiscated; doubtless he had at that time no estate that could be seized.

For a time, at least, after the war, he remained in this locality, but the republican atmosphere was uncongenial and he preferred the company of his loyalist friends in Canada. It is related in Evans and Ellis' history of this county, on what authority we are not told, that upon

one occasion, while living in the family of his half-brother, James Ewing, after the war, his expressions of hatred and contempt for the young republic and its friends were so bitter that General Ewing rose from the table at which they were sitting and attempted to throttle him, and was prevented from doing so only through the interposition of his wife. It is also said of him, and this is additional proof of the reduced financial straits in which he is believed to have been, that, desiring to leave for Canada, and not having sufficient means, he "confiscated" a horse belonging to a farmer named Herr, and rode away on his northern journey. To his credit, it must be said, that after reaching Canada he remitted the value of the animal to its legitimate owner, his loyalist friends having no doubt enabled him to do so.

After Career and Death.

In 1798 he and a number of other disappointed and disaffected persons, doubtless unreconstructed Loyalists like himself, held secret conferences at Detroit, looking to the seizure of New Orleans and the adjacent territory from France, and to hold in forcible control the navigation of the Mississippi river. In this he appears to have anticipated the later scheme of Aaron Burr and his fellow filibusters. The Government, however, got early knowledge of what he was after and took effectual measures to thwart him. His latter years were passed in Canada.

Of his family very little appears to be known. He alludes neither to wife nor children in his narrative. But I have ascertained that he was twice married. His first wife, a Miss Sample, was the daughter of an innkeeper, living at or near Fort Pitt. His second wife was the widow of Samuel Wel-

lington, of Delaware. One son, James Connolly, was born on April 1, 1781, while he was a prisoner in Philadelphia, and another, Thomas Connolly, was born April 9, 1783, during his stay in London. Some of his descendants are said to be still in the English service. Colonel Connolly himself died while residing in Canada.

Addenda.

The will of Dr. John Connolly, the elder, is on record in the Lancaster Court House, in will book A, vol. I, 141. It is dated March 3, 1747, and was probated on March 11, 1747. He gives to his wife, Susanna, one-third of his real estate during his life, and one-third of his personality, absolutely. He gives his minor and only son, John, the subject of the foregoing sketch, all the rest of his estate. He leaves legacies, however, to his brother, Luke, and his sisters, Bridget and Elizabeth, all living in Ireland. His wife, George Smith, John Hart and Thomas Doyle are named as executors. His silver watch, silver mounted sword, spurs, gold ring, gold buttons and silver knee buckles, are also bequeathed to his son, John.

Mrs. Susanna Connolly's will is on record in will book B, vol. I, 13. It is dated April 27, 1753, and was probated on July 7, 1753. She left to the two sons by her marriage with Mr. Ewing, John, £100 and James, £60; to her son, John Connolly, £250 and a silver table spoon. She also gave £5 towards erecting the wall around the Donegal Church, and £3 towards building the wall at St. James' Church, at Lancaster. She also refers to her daughter, Rebecca Polson, and son George, to her son-in-law, James Lowry, and son-in-law, Benjamin Chambers, and grandson Chambers. James Wright and Arthur Patterson were named as executors.

(139)

From the above will, which I have examined since the foregoing sketch was in print, I am led to infer that neither the elder Connolly nor his wife were as well fixed financially as I was led to believe earlier, the estates of both being only moderate in amount.

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.

Minutes of March Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., March 6, 1903.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon in the Society's room, in the Young Men's Christian Association building. In the absence of President Steinman, Vice President Samuel Evans, Esq., took the chair. The reading of the minutes was, on motion, dispensed with.

The persons proposed at the last meeting were duly elected, and the applications of Miss Daisy E. B. Grubb, E. Boyd Weitzel, of Philadelphia; David H. Landis, of Windom; Mrs. William Altick and Miss Margaret Haas received.

The donations to the Society were numerous and valuable. A good friend, who desires his name to be kept out of sight, donated the "Third Series of Pennsylvania Archives," vols. 10 to 19 of the second series except volume 12, and the seven volumes of the Pennsylvania "Statutes at Large;" Samuel Evans, Esq., donated the Tribune Almanacs, from '62 to '65, both inclusive, a memoir of Chief Justice Gibson, and a manuscript list of the members of Donegal Church down to 1776; the Secretary a German psalter printed at Reading in 1821, a German Primer printed at Philadelphia in 1818, and a German prayer book printed at Germantown in 1794. An ancient bowl, purchased from an aged sister in the Cloister at Ephrata many years ago, and an historical work in French were donated by Mrs. M. N. Robinson. A fine steel portrait of the Rev. Levi Bull, D. D., was presented by Miss Annie Albright. Photographs

of Luther, Buchanan, the new Ephrata monument and of the old Lutheran Sunday-school building, of this city, were presented by S. M. Sener, Esq. The Historical Society, of Kansas, and that of Delaware sent copies of their latest publications. The usual exchanges from other societies were also received.

The thanks of the Society were gratefully extended to the givers, unknown as well as known, for their valuable contributions. Other valuable donations from several persons are promised in the near future.

The paper of the day was by the Secretary, on "Colonel John Connally, Loyalist." It was of considerable length and gave all the main facts of his career so far as they are known. He was born and raised in this county, which lends additional interest to his career. The reading of the paper was followed by a general discussion on the Tory element in this county and State, which drew out many facts on that interesting subject. The thanks of the Society were tendered the writer of the paper, and it was ordered printed in the usual way.

The committee on making the library more serviceable reported that it recommended that books could be taken out on every meeting day, and also on the afternoon of the third Friday of the month, from 2 until 4 o'clock.

Attention was called to the fact that the grass plat around the George Ross monument was not as carefully attended to as it should have been. The result was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the actual relations of the Society to the monument and the grounds around it.

S. M. Sener, Esq., the librarian of the Society, tendered his resignation of that office. On motion, all action on the same was held over until the next meeting.

The attendance was unusually large, and the proceedings interesting. So rapidly is the library increasing that a new book case is needed. The Society is anxious to strengthen this department of its collections, and respectfully solicits from all who have books, manuscripts, historical papers and any other material relating to the State or county, donations of the same. Such articles will be acknowledged and carefully preserved.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

APRIL 4 AND MAY 1, 1903.

R. K. Bush

GLEANINGS FROM AN OLD NEWSPAPER.

FIRST PAPER.

SECOND PAPER.

VOL. VII. NOS. 7 AND 8.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1903.

Gleanings from an Old Newspaper. First Paper.	-	-	143
By Mrs. MARY N. ROBINSON.			
Minutes of April Meeting	-	-	154
Gleanings from an Old Newspaper. Second Paper.			
By Mrs. MARY N. ROBINSON.			
Minutes of May Meeting	-	-	174

Gleanings from an Old Newspaper.

The notes which I have the honor of reading to you to-day, Mr. President and members of the Historical Society, do not profess to be a paper. They have no value, historically; they contain nothing which is either new, novel, or startling, and yet they have a certain local interest, which appealed to their compiler, and which may make them acceptable to you. For it is no harvest of sheaves which is brought you; it is, perhaps, only a few grains of wheat in much chaff; a few gleanings from well-trodden fields to add to your store. So let us begin these "Gleanings From an Old Newspaper."

On June 17, 1794, was issued the first number of the Lancaster Journal. Its motto was:

"Not too rash. Yet not fearful. Open to all parties; yet influenced by none."

The paper was issued weekly. The file for 1794 is missing, but after that the volumes are complete. Only in many pages the vandal's scissors have been busy, and vacant spaces show where clippings have been made, regardless of the rights of ownership.

Comparing this yellow paper of 108 years ago, with its worn edges, its faded print, its quaint spelling and long ss, we find it very different from the strenuous, hustling newspaper of 1903. Foreign news is given an undue prominence. Locals and the lengthy and often unwelcome personals of the present day are conspicuous chiefly through their ab-

sence. Yet the old Journal is alike interesting and amusing to anyone who chooses to scan its pages. It is dignified and quiet in its tone. But its columns, to whosoever reads them aright, will give many glimpses into the life of those long-past days, and will recall many names familiar to us all. The advertisements of the last years of the century which brought forth and accomplished the Revolution are, perhaps, the most interesting items in the Journal, and from them most of the following items have been collected.

The Lancaster Journal was printed by Willcocks & Hamilton, at Euclid's Head, in King street, nearly opposite Mr. Stofft's. The subscription was fifteen shillings per annum.

Let us look over these old advertisements and see what we can learn from them about the daily life of our forefathers, over one hundred years ago. What first strikes us is that Lancaster, now a city of churches, was then a city of schools.

May 20, 1795, David Doyle advertises that on the 24th, Thursday, he will open, in the house adjoining the south end of the Calvinist churchyard, a Grammar school. He also states that he has separated from the Rev. Mr. Heath by mutual consent. Later on, in 1796, he advertises that he will have a Classical and Mathematical school.

June 17, 1795, it is stated that a morning school will be opened in the Yellow House, in Queen street, where writing will be taught by Mr. Porter.

The Rev. Elisha Rigg advertises that he will open the Female Academy, on its original plan, on Tuesday, September 1, 1795.

Hannah Brown, September 23, 1796, will open a school, on Queen street, where she will teach plain sewing, reading, marking, and needlework of all kinds.

In 1797 Doyle advertises that he will keep his school open from 6 to 8 a. m. and from 5 to 7 p. m., to accommodate such pupils as are crowded out at the usual hours.

Mrs. Galligher, April 21, 1797, will open a school for young ladies, at Mrs. Reichenbach's new house, teaching, also, sewing, knitting, working of lace, etc.

September 16, Mr. Baconais advertises a school for dancing.

April 28, same year, B. Noldick will open a dancing school, teaching the minuet, minuet de la Cour, and other fashionable dances.

So much for the cause of education.

On August 19, 1796, we find:

"Mr. Peticolas paints miniatures. He completes a good likeness in two days, with not more than three hours' sitting, and asks no pay unless the likeness is acknowledged to be just." It would be interesting to know if any of his work is in existence in town.

What, to our modern thinking, is rather curious is the following:

To be sold, the lifetime of a healthy mulatto female, about twenty-one years of age, calculated for doing any kind of farming or housework, and is sober and industrious.

From the many notices of runaways we select a few chiefly on account of the descriptions of clothing:

When Lewellen Brown ran away, July 5, 1795, he wore "a country-made linsey coat, two pair of tow trowsers, new shoes, with strings in them (some have thongs), a fine hat, much worn, and sundry other clothes."

John Bear, a horse thief, who lived near Bettichafer, wore a nankeen jacket, a pair of copperas-coloured linen trowsers, a round wool hat, and a fine shirt. He stole a strait-bodied, lead-coloured coat, with white metal buttons, and a great coat of grey coating, with a yellow velveret cape, and white metal buttons.

"A negro wench, named Grace," wore "a rorum hat."

A costume for July was worn by a runaway, John Simmers, as follows: A nankeen coat, a pair of olive-coloured fustian trowsers, and a fur hat. Other apparel not known.

On April 21, 1797, for the first time, these runaway advertisements are headed with small cuts, representing the absentee running at full speed, with a bundle on a stick over one shoulder, and looking backward for possible pursuers.

The merchants of those days were not averse to publishing their wares. Some of the goods bear names unfamiliar to our modern ears, such as these articles offered for sale: Matteringals and garments are silk and cotton policats, Indian bandanoes, muslinets, gingams, joans, callimancoes, ticketts, fustian, kerseynett, silk modes and a Brazil coloured jacket, whatever these may be.

If you needed drugs, they "were to be had from George Moore, at the sign of the Marble Mortar, north of the Court House, where, also, best perfumed Hair powder, Pomatum," etc., were sold.

Dr. G. W. Adlersterren has for sale scorpion and laurel oils, whatever they may be, while on March 24, 1797, Dowlin, in addition to other duties, gives notice that he will practice inoculation, at the one-story brick house, beyond Mr. Lechler's (Green Tree), on Donegal street, and opposite to Mr. Samuel Humes'.

I find this street, on which Mr. Difenderffer wrote an exhaustive paper, mentioned again, August 26, 1795, "Donegal street, on which Mr. Samuel Humes and John Kerr lived."

On the 24th of June, 1795, "a circumferentor is to be sold. For particulars, apply to Mr. Slough's Barber-keeper." Unfortunately, it is too late

to obtain information from him as to what the aforementioned article may have been. Webster says it is a surveyor's compass.

July 29, of the same year, Amos Brumfield offers for sale "a large quantity of country-made Vices, equal to any imported."

October 16, 1795, we read: "To be let, that three-story house, and whole lot of ground, in the borough of Lancaster, on King street, wherein General Hand lately lived, and now in the tenure of David Herr." *

On August 26, 1795, a list of letters remaining in the post-office is published, the first to be found in the paper, and it is signed by Henry Willcocks, as Postmaster. After this, the lists appear at regular intervals.

In every number there is a "Poet's Corner," in which quite a number of original contributions appear. The most frequent signatures are "A Country Youth," "Trophonius," "Amicus" and "Amarillis." One of these had a poem, entitled "The Joys of Wine," which seemed to have been published under protest, as in quite

*Where was the house referred to as having been occupied by Dr. Edward Hand? Mr. Frank S. Barr, who has an intimate acquaintance with our early city records, informs me it was on the south side of East King street, very near the Square—a house owned by a Mr. John Hopson, a large land-holder, who owned a number of lots on both sides of East and West King streets, running down to Prince and Water streets. The records do not show that General Hand ever owned any real estate within the borough limits. He was not assessed on any personal property until 1782, when his tax was £1.10. In 1786 his assessment was 50 shillings on one bound servant, value, £10; negro girl, value £25; four horses, £60; two cows, £6; in plate, £2.10; total value, £153. In 1787, assessed, £1.5; in 1788, £1.7; in 1789, £1.2.6; in 1790, 7s. 6d.; in 1791, 7 shillings; in 1793, paid 6s. 1d., on a total valuation of £133, on one servant, two horses and one cow. Mr. F. H. Barr states that he has a recollection of coming across a Court House record stating the fact that Dr. Hand at one time occupied the old Deering house, on the Conestoga river.

D.



"ROCKFORD"—THE HOME OF GENERAL HAND.

a lengthy note following the editor says to the author that "encomiums like this are less acceptable than the productions of his pen in a more moral sphere."

In this same "Poet's Corner," September 23, 1796, from a lengthy poem about some poor, rejected swain, who in his disappointment meditated suicide, we quote:

"That a lover, forsaken,
A new love may get,
But a neck, when once broken,
Can never be set.

* * * * *

"But bold, unconcerned,
At thoughts of the pain,
He calmly returned
To his cottage again."

While on the subject of rhyme, it may be as well to give, as a specimen of the humor of those days, the following "Epitaph on a Lawyer," printed June 10, 1796:

"Hic jacet Johannes Straw,
Who forty years followed the law;
When he died
The Devil cried,
'John, give us your paw.'"

The following brief local speaks for itself, September 25, 1796:

"The President of the United States arrived here on Tuesday afternoon last, and on Wednesday morning at 6 o'clock proceeded on his way to Mount Vernon."

On the 17th of June, of the same year, we read:

"Yesterday, Major General Anthony Wayne passed through this town from Philadelphia, on his way to Fort Washington."

In our present time two such locals would have furnished columns for the reporter's pen.

Equally simple are the obituary and marriage notices. The earliest mar-

riage I find recorded reads as follows, under date of September 16, 1795:

"Married, on Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Rigg, Mr. David Barton, merchant, to the amiable Miss Kitty Graeff, both of this borough."

Here is another of some local interest:

"At Hanover, on the 10th of February, 1798, by the Rev. Mr. Meltzheimer, Bartram Galbraith, of Lancaster county, to the amiable Miss Harriet Huling, daughter of John Huling, of Lycoming county."

I copy a few of the obituary records:

July 8, 1796. Died, in Philadelphia, on Sunday, the 26th ult., and on Monday following was buried, pursuant to his direction, under his Observatory, David Rittenhouse, LL.D., and President of the American Philosophical Society. In the death of this great man, Science and the World have sustained a loss."

"Died, March 8, 1797, in an advanced age, Mr. Peter Raugh, for many years Crier of the Lancaster Courts."

"Died, at Stillwater, February 17, 1797, Mrs. Hyndman, aged one hundred and seven years, the oldest person ever buried in that town. She was a woman grown, and resided in the North of Ireland at the time that George I. was crowned."

Issue of March 10, 1798:

"Died, in Philadelphia, on Sunday evening last, March 4, in the forty-seventh year of his age, Col. Adam Hubley, late of this borough."

Issue of March 17, 1798:

"On Tuesday, a child of Mr. David Barton."

"On Wednesday, a female child of Mr. Thomas Barton was run over by a loaded wagon, and expired almost instantaneously."

"March 19, Dr. John Carpenter, after a long and lingering illness, aged 61."

This is followed by quite a lengthy

article, speaking in the highest terms of the deceased, but no particulars of his life are given.

Considerable space is given to accounts of the yellow fever, which prevailed in Philadelphia, causing much mortality and distress. To relieve this there were subscribed and donated in the borough \$720.06; in the county, \$324.97; a total of \$1,045.03 in cash; and of flour, 370 barrels, 223 pounds; a very liberal contribution.

A military company, the Lancaster Troop, is occasionally mentioned, as follows:

August 12, 1795. "The members of the Lancaster Troop are requested to call upon Adam Reigart for their pay."

July 1st, 1795. "The members of the Lancaster Troop are requested to meet, in uniform, at the Court House, in the borough of Lancaster, on Saturday, the fourth instant, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to celebrate the BIRTHDAY OF FREEDOM."

June 17, 1796. "The person who took away from Jacob Lahn's book store 'Volney's Law of Nature,' elegantly bound, gilt and lettered, in a small pocket volume, is desired to send it back again, or his name will be made public."

While on this subject, it may be noted that the first two numbers of the "Literary Museum," by Derrick and Sharpless, were to be ready April 28, 1797; subscription, \$2.25 per annum; and in the same year W. Hamilton published, price, five shillings, a "Treatise on Morality," by the Rev. Rene Houdet.

February 3, 1797. "The books of the Library Company of Lancaster are deposited in the Court House. The librarian will attend every Monday afternoon."

On October 1, 1797, William and Robert Dickson published the Balloon and Columbian Almanacs for 1798.

In the same year Rickett's new circus advertises a fine performance, and Mr. Hackley has a wax-work show.

October 21, 1797, a father warns the public "not to trust his degenerated son."

Every here and there we find complaints about the muddy street, and "Citizen," June 17, 1796, in a lengthy article, "complains of the bad state our streets and alleys are kept in, owing to the dirt and rubbish thrown into them."

February 17, 1796. "Several mad dogs about. A child of Dr. Moore's, and a boy of Major Light's were bit, but, as speedy medical aid was applied, it was hoped no unhappy results would ensue."

In conclusion, it may be worth while mentioning "the Provincial Road, on which, nine miles from Lancaster, William Ferree, kept the Duke of Cumberland tavern," November 6, 1795, and the Conestogoe Bridge, on the Turnpike Road, where Dan Witmer's tavern stood."

Here are a few of the old signs:
"The Mill-saw," John Stone, hardware.

"The Marble Mortar," George Moore, drugs.

"The King of Prussia," George Fisher.

"The Unicorn," Adam Messenkop.
"Franklin Head." "Euclid Head."
"Blue Bell."

Such are the glimpses the old newspaper gives us of the daily life of old Lancaster.

MARY N. ROBINSON.

*When this article was read the name "Provincial Road" was unfamiliar to all who were present. Investigation revealed the fact that it was an early name for a road leading out of the town, and, when the old King's High Road was ordered to be laid out, in November, 1733, thirty feet wide, between Philadelphia and Lancaster, it was laid out over at

least part of the Provincial Road, which was perhaps little better than a horse path or trail, leading in the direction of Philadelphia, at that time, and now almost forgotten. When, on September 7, 1744, Hans Musser and his wife, Frena, sold to Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn, the fifteen-acre tract of land in the southeastern part of the city, beginning at East King and Middle streets (now Howard avenue), the deed reads: "All that tract or parcel of land, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Lancaster, Beginning at a post in the Provincial Road, thence by the land of James Hamilton, Esq., S. W. 70 perches, to a post near a black oak, etc." D.

Minutes of April Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., April 3, 1903.

The usual monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon in the Young Men's Christian Association Building.

The meeting was called to order by President Steinman. The roll of officers was called and the reading of the minutes of the March meeting was, on motion, dispensed with.

The application of Mrs. Charles J. Swarr for membership was received. The donations consisted of that fine series, "The Crowned Masterpieces of Literature," in ten large volumes, donated by His Honor, Judge Livingston; of a copy of "Ross' Latin Grammar," published in this city by the Grimler Brothers, in 1802, and a sketch of "John Brown's Men," both presented by Dr. Houston; a copy of "Schiller's Robbers," in German, presented by Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, and a copy of Washington's Farewell Address in German, and the framed certificate of Frederick Bausman as a member of the "Jackson Rifles" in this city, in 1836, both donated by Clayton H. Ranck; the usual number of exchanges.

The Secretary read a letter from the Librarian of the New York Public Library, the consolidated Astor, Lenox and Tilden foundations, asking for the publications of this Society, offering to make the usual exchanges. The offer was accepted and the Secretary was instructed to send the library a set of the publications of the local Society, as far as they can still be supplied.

The paper of the day was called

"Gleanings From an Old Newspaper," and was prepared and read by Mrs. Mary N. Robinson. It was a miscellaneous selection of all kinds of articles taken from the Lancaster Intelligencer of 1795-'96, and proved most entertaining, its only defect being its brevity. It elicited a good deal of discussion, as a number of names and places were mentioned which are no longer rememberer. The thanks of the Society were given Mrs. Robinson for her valuable paper, and a request was made that it should be continued.

The committee appointed at the March meeting to inquire into the status of the Society towards the Ross monument reported progress.

The propriety of offering a prize for a paper on some historical subject to be competed for by pupils of the High School was suggested; the question will be taken up at a future meeting.

The Secretary and Librarian were instructed to take steps to procure another book case, which is much needed, to accommodate the growing library of the Society.

There being no further business, a motion to adjourn was made and carried. The attendance was good, as usual.

Gleanings From an Old Newspaper.

You have asked for a continuation of the notes read to you at the last meeting of the Society, and, while this request should be considered in the light of a compliment, it must be remembered that continuations very rarely are a success. But the field in which these humble researches have been made is a very broad one, with so much in it that the task of selection was by no means an easy duty; in fact, the mass of material was almost appalling. Whether the choice which has been made is the best remains to be seen. It comprises such items as seemed to possess most interest. The old papers are there, easy of access, awaiting the scrutinizing eyes of any who choose to consult them.

Before you, this afternoon, are laid the results of many hours spent over the old relics of the past. There is something sad in the investigation, despite its interest. What we consult and examine from motives of curiosity was in those days an important factor in the lives of our predecessors.

A local, and they are few in number, December 2, 1797, says:

"The ingenious Mr. Peter Getz, of this Borough, has completed an engine for the Active Fire Company. This is the second that he has made. It contains 200 gallons, and will empty itself in one minute, throwing the water to the immense height of ninety or one hundred feet. By removing the mouthpiece from the branch or pipe, it will throw double the quantity of water

in the same time over a common, three-story house."

Obituaries.

December 17, 1799, the Intelligencer appeared in mourning for the death of General George Washington.

Later on, under date of January 6, 1810, the obituary column contained the following notice:

"Died, in this borough, on Friday evening, the 29th ult., after an illness of two days, in the forty-seventh year of his age, Mr. Peter Getz, the original improver of the new printing press, constructed with rollers instead of a screw. He was famous for his ingenuity."

April 2, 1800. "Died, in this borough, on Friday, the 28th of March, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, Mathias Irwin, Esq., Master of the Rolls for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and on Sunday his remains were interred in the burial ground of the English Presbyterian Church."

On April 15, not three weeks after his death, his furniture was sold at his residence, on Queen street.

April 7. "Mr. Moses Montgomery died of a consumption, which was supposed to be occasioned by his taking a draught of cold water in the summer, when his body was overheated."

December 3. "Died, in this borough, Mr. Johann George Dosh, aged seventy-four years. He weighed upwards of four hundred pounds."

April 10, 1801. "Died, last week, in the House of Employment, near Lancaster, Mrs. Mary Curran, aged ninety-nine years. She was a native of Scotland."

"Died, Thursday, June 4, 1801, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, in the fifty-second year of his age; Receiver General in the Land Office Department of Pennsylvania. Buried in the ground of the German Lutheran Church."

June 9, 1798. Edward Hand, as Inspector of Revenue for the Third District of Pennsylvania, advertises that stamps, etc., may be obtained from him at "his office, at the house of Mr. John Ween, South Queen street, in the borough of Lancaster." A manuscript note, unsigned and undated, states that General Hand's funeral took place from the house, No. 15 South Queen street (occupied by Mr. Van Camp) and was largely attended. This note seems to be of later date than the paper.

September 11, 1802. "Died, after a few hours' sickness, of cholera morbus, on the 4th instant, at his seat, on the Conestoga, in the vicinity of this borough, General Edward Hand, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and his remains were interred the following day in the Episcopal burial ground, in the borough of Lancaster, attended by his weeping relatives and a crowd of sympathizing friends. After the war he retired to the practice of physics, a profession in which he had been brought up."

June 9, 1798. "On the same day, Captain Adam Messenkop, in the forty-fourth year of his age; an old Revolutionary soldier."

The Intelligencer of August 7, 1799, contains a long obituary notice of General Elisha Lawrence, in Upper Freehold, New Jersey, aged fifty-three, who was killed by his gun going off accidentally while shooting. He had been a member of the Legislature, Vice President of the State, Justice of the Peace and Presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was Brigadier General of the militia of the county and took a warm and decided part in the late war as an intelligent soldier and a brave commander.

May 14, 1802. "Died, in this borough, on Thursday night last, Mrs. Margaret Atkinson, in the eighty-sixth year of



her age. Her remains will be interred in the Friends' burial ground, this afternoon at four o'clock."

Other notices are given of the deaths of Mrs. David Rittenhouse, Mrs. Martha Washington, the Princess Amelia, and the Chevalier D'Eon. So much for the obituaries, which have seemed worth recording.

Amusements.

Let us turn to lighter topics than the paths which lead to God's acres and recount some of the amusements of the old borough:

May 5, 1798. "Tuesday last, being St. Tammany's Day, a number of respectable inhabitants assembled at Swenk's Spring to celebrate the anniversary of our Tutelar Saint. It is remarkable that this anniversary has passed unnoticed in Lancaster, as a jubilee, for nearly twenty years. Why should Americans forget their brawny chief? He, who, according to Indian tradition, planted Tobacco and kidney beans, and taught us to quarry hatchets and scalping knives from flint stones." They had about twenty toasts and many hearty acclamations of festivity.

February 24, 1798. "The anniversary of General Washington's Birthday was celebrated in this place on Thursday last by a Ball at the Court House, which was honored with the presence of a brilliant assemblage of Ladies. The Company partook of a splendid supper at Mr. Slough's."

Intelligencer, November 1, 1800. "A Republican banquet was held in front of Mr. Boyd's house. The day was announced as a day of Festivity by the firing of a morning gun. The Fare—780 pounds of the best Beef; two Shoats, weighing 142 pounds; two Roasters, 35 pounds; 4 hams, 63 pounds; total, 1,020 pounds; 125 Lancaster Loaves of Bread; 2 hogsheads of Beer; 12 gallons best French brandy; 34 gallons choice Ma-

deira wine. The provision being cooked in the best manner, it was placed on a table, 300 feet long, at half-past one. Emanuel Carpenter was President. Vice Presidents, William Barton and William Slaymaker. There were 412 Republicans seated, while many stood; a corps of Republican militia firing at every toast, of which twenty-one were drank. Later there was a procession, and the borough was illuminated.

Newspapers and Other Things.

It may be as well to say here that on Wednesday, July 31, 1799, "Will and Robert Dickson, at their Printing office and Book store, North Queen street, began the publication of the Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser." After this, party spirit ran high, and with the advent of the political names of Constitutionalists, Federalists, Democrats and Republicans, compliments passed freely between the Intelligencer and the Journal. Later, some of these may be quoted.

In the preparation of these notes, the files of both papers have been consulted. Unless otherwise stated, it is to be understood that the items selected are from the Journal.

Intelligencer, December 24, 1800. "Last Saturday the men of the Franklin Society met at the Franklin Inn and partook of an elegant supper."

Intelligencer, January 1, 1801. The newsboys published and delivered an address to the patrons of the paper, apparently their first venture. It ended thus:

"For, if by giving you receive,
You might be happy, I believe;
For he that giveth to a Boy,
Must reap the most abundart joy."

Journal, December 2, 1797. "The Conewago Canal was opened on Wednesday, November 22, for the first time for the passage of boats. The

Governor of the Commonwealth attended and a great number of citizens."

January 20, 1798. "A few days ago two handsome cannon, twenty-four Pounders, passed through this place, for the southwestern frontier."

Our Early Schools.

Intelligencer, January 7, 1801. In an account of a banquet I find the following description of Franklin College: "It stands on high ground, on the north side of the Borough of Lancaster. It is one hundred feet in length by thirty-six feet in breadth. It is divided into three rooms, having large folding doors. The building and lots were given by the State, and the institution endowed with 10,000 acres of land, for its support." At this banquet the table extended the length of the building, as the doors could be opened so as to throw the rooms into one.

Later, on June 5, 1802, James Ross advertises that he will remove his Academy to the spacious and airy building appointed to the use of Franklin College, on North Queen street.

Other schools noticed are an English School, by John McLachlan, April 8, 1801. Drawing and Painting School, to open August 1, James Cox.

July 16, 1800. John A. Kenney will open a school about April 1, on West King street.

August 1. Aug. Blondel will open a Fencing and Dancing School.

Thomas B. Barton has a school on Duke street. George Caruthers, in the next house south of Mr. S. Humes'.

All these advertisements appeared in the Intelligencer. After this they became quite numerous, and the last we shall notice is on account of its name, the "Lancaster Tyrocinium," by S. Bacon and H. Bullard, a few doors south of Mr. Krug's. This was in 1811.

The Patriotic Instinct.

The issue of the Journal for May 12, 1798, contains an appeal to the young men of Lancaster to associate themselves into a corps composing the Lancaster Volunteer Infantry. It must have been responded to, for, on June 2, the Committee of the Lancaster Volunteer Light Infantry, composed of Matthias Barton, Abraham Henry, David K. Barton, Henry Reigart and Lewis Lauman, advertise that volunteers should apply to them.

Intelligencer, December 11. "The Republican Blues are requested to parade in compleat uniform from the house of Peter Gonter."

November 19. By order of Richard Hampton, Adjutant General Pennsylvania Militia, said troops "were to wear a blue coat, faced with red, and the lining white or red, the Cocade to be Blue and Red."

Journal, June 28, 1801. "The Lancaster Troop of Cavalry will parade at the Court House, on Friday, July 4, at 8 o'clock in the morning, in summer uniform. Wm. Montgomery, Captain."

August 12. "The First Volunteer Company of Infantry will parade on Saturday, August 23. Captain Barton. B. W. Henry, First Sergeant."

In 1796 a celebration of Washington's Birthday was held. There were dinners at Mr. Slough's and Mr. Eichholtz's, and in the evening a ball at the Court House, with a supper at Slough's. The officers of the militia dined at Major Light's. The Volunteer Company of Infantry fired sixteen rounds in honor of the day, and dined at Witmer's.

Witmer's Bridge.

On November 12, 1800, the Intelligencer published the following advertisement:

"Conestoga Bridge.
It is with great pleasure

Abraham Witmer
Informs the Public
That his New Bridge will be completed
On THURSDAY next,
On which day, at one o'clock,
the inscription stone will be
fixed in the centre of the
North Wall of said
BRIDGE.

"The friends of Abraham Witmer,
and all other citizens desirous to see
the same are respectfully informed
thereof."

November 5. It was expected that
the census then being taken would
show that Pennsylvania had from
650,000 to 700,000 inhabitants, and on
January 7, 1801, it is stated that the
population of Lancaster county, in
1790, was 36,147; in 1800, 43,403, and
178 slaves.

Slaves.

Intelligencer, February 19, 1800. "To
be sold, a likely young Negroe Man,
who is a Slave, but will be sold for the
term of ten years, and shall then be
free. He is as free from faults as
most of his Colour. He may be seen in
the jail of Lancaster by any person
inclining to purchase. Samuel Cooke."

Intelligencer, September 15, 1799.
"The noted villain, Elijah Crane Par-
die, alias John Crawford, broke from
the jail in the borough of Lancaster.
He was convicted at the last Court of
Oyer and Terminer of Forging and
passing Counterfeit Dollars. A Reward
of one hundred dollars is offered for
his apprehension. He wore a shirt,
ruffed on the breast and sleeves; a
light coat, with a white velvet cape;
wears his hair plaited and turned up
under his hat. He is a man of gen-
teel appearance and address, and has
been concerned in several villainies."
Signed by Christian Carpenter, Sheriff
of Lancaster County. After 1801, all
similar notices are headed, in con-
spicuous type, "Stop the Villain."

While advertisements concerning the Redemptioners appeared quite frequently in the Philadelphia papers, here is the only one which, so far, has come under my observation in our Lancaster publications. It appeared in the "Intelligencer," issue of September 10, 1801:

"GERMAN REDEMPTIONERS.

"A number still on board the ship Anna, from Hamburg, lying abreast of Vine street wharf, in the Stream; consisting of Mechanics, of almost every description, Farmers and others, who are anxious to procure places. Desirous to commence loading the Vessel, their times will be disposed of at the low rate of \$80 for their passage. Apply on board the ship or to

"JACOB SPERRY & CO.

"Philadelphia, Sept. 10."

Thanksgiving and Other Things.

April 7, 1797, is published a proclamation of the President, John Adams, appointing Wednesday, May 9, as a day of fasting and prayer, on account of "hazardous and afflictive situation in which the United States of America are placed." It also publishes the Stamp Act, passed by Congress July 6, 1797; but in this case the act was not followed by a revolution.

Intelligencer, March 26, 1801. "The Lancaster County Society for promoting Agriculture, Manufactures, and the useful Arts resolve to offer a gold medal, worth Ten Dollars, or the value thereof in specie, to the person raising the greatest quantity of flax, of the best quality, from one Acre of ground."

Nov. 1, 1800. "Many counterfeit dollars in circulation in the Borough and vicinity of Lancaster, to imitate the issue of 1798. They are merely plated copper." Perhaps they were made by that noted villain, Elijah Crane Pardie.

Nov. 28, 1800. "An earthquake was felt at Lancaster, Wilmington, etc. Quaere. Is this a fulfilment of an old prophecy predicting that 'towards the end of the year 1800, and the three following years, there shall be great earthquakes in America, Europe and Asia.'"

Then as Now.

March 3, 1800. John Miller, Burgess, advertises that "some evil disposed Person or Persons did, in the night of the 12th inst., remove and break three of the Watch Houses in the Borough of Lancaster," and offers a reward of \$20 for their apprehension.

July 4, 1801. "On Thursday last, Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at ninety-one degrees in the shade."

July 31, 1802. "In Lancaster county the crops of grain have never been surpassed. Much grain will suffer for the want of hands to get it in."

Among the industries, I find the following:

A chocolate manufactory, by Shaef-
fer & Badecker.

Artificial Whetstones which will float in water, made by John Fowler.

John Hoff commenced business as Watch and Clock Maker, in East King street, next door to Mr. Slaymaker's tavern, July 9, 1801.

Snowfall in May.

May 9, 1802. A fall of snow in Philadelphia on May 7, which did considerable damage to the vegetable world, breaking down trees, especially the Lombardy poplar. Such a snowstorm in spring had not been known since the one of May 4, 1771, which destroyed most of the early fruit.

In December, 1802, wood sold at from 3 to 4 dollars per cord, rye at 6 shillings per bushel and whiskey at 4 shillings per gallon, while after a man's death, it seems to have been customary to

sell his clothing, as December 25, 1802, is found the following notice:

"Will be sold, at public vendue, on Friday, 7th day of January next, all the wearing apparel of George Powel, deceased, consisting of two new suits of woolen cloth, twenty-six linen shirts, several pair buckskin breeches and overalls."

Among the goods offered for sale by the merchants are found the following:

Durants, Joan's spinnings, Taboreens, Cazinets, Rosette and Romal Handkerchiefs, Blue Gillies; while on August 14, 1802, Egbert Taylor offers the following Boots for sale: "Backstraps, Spear-tongues, Cossacks, Suwarows," and August 21, James Arrott advertises the following cloths: "Plain and striped Wildbores, Pelongs, etc."

Ice Cream and Cards.

At the office of the Journal, April 9, 1803, you could buy "Superfine Columbian and Best Harry the Eighth cards."

Ice cream was made and sold in Lancaster as early as May, 1810. It was made by Frederick Reinhart "at his dwelling, in West King street, five doors below the Cross Keys," where he also manufactured "Epaulets, Jewelry, Tortoise Shell Combs."

New Books.

It was at first intended to add to these notes a list of such books as were published in Lancaster in those early days, but it was too hard to distinguish between those offered for sale and the others, so that catalogue is left for some one else. A few are here mentioned:

"History of the Last War in Ireland," John Burk.

"Proceedings in the Case of Francis Johnston, Esq.," by Samuel Bryan.

"Delworth's Spelling Book," improved; published by Henry and Benjamin Grimler.

August 8, 1809. "A complete English-German and German-English Dictionary, in one large octavo volume." To be published by subscription by Hamilton & Ehrenfried.

On September 8, 1810, Hamilton & Co. advertise that they have "printed an American edition of 'Thomas von Kempis,' in German; price, 50 cents a volume."

"The Washingtoniana," published by the Journal; price, \$2.00, bound in gilt and lettered. April 4, 1802.

The only marriage which I have observed, where the ceremony was not performed by a clergyman, is as follows, in the Intelligencer (I think in May, 1802):

"Married, on Wednesday evening last, by the Hon. Jasper Yeates, Mr. Philip Doddridge, of Somerset county, to Miss Julian Musser, Daughter of Mr. John Musser, of this Borough."

"A Jury of Inquiry will meet May 24 at the house of Adam Weber in the Borough of Lancaster."

There are no further references to Donegal St., but March 19 it is stated that a house has been "rented from Mr. Samuel Humes, in the north end of Queen street."

The stages seem to have had names, for, March 20, 1802, "the stage Good Intent" is advertised to run between Lancaster and Philadelphia.

There are frequent references to "military lands," "crown lands," "patented lands," "donation lands," and to "the Connecticut reserve, adjoining the western boundary of Pennsylvania."

A Big One!

October 30, 1802. "WONDERFUL!!! There is in the orchard of Col. John Armstrong, Columbia, a peach tree, on which there is fruit nearly as big as a half bushel, and would weigh, it is supposed, from 20 to 25 pounds!!!

"Cincinnati paper."

So much for "the good old times" by way of a newspaper yarn.

Methodists Here.

In 1809 an election was held in or near "the Presbyterian church called The Run."

There is an interesting little item from the Journal of July 26, 1810:

"The Rev. Mr. Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Society, will preach in the new meeting house in Lancaster, Sunday, August 5."

August 16, 1811. "On Sunday next, the 18th inst., the Rev. Francis Asbury, one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, will preach (thro' divine permission) in the Methodist church at Lancaster, at 10 o'clock A. M. and at night."

Intelligencer, September 18, 1799, calculates that Lancaster County will cast 3,300 votes at the coming election for Governor, McKean and Ross being the candidates. October 16, the same paper publishes the result: Ross, 3,288; McKean, 2,258; in all, 5,546.

Of this James Ross, a clergyman, who says his name may be learned on application to the office of the Intelligencer, writes he is "in principle an infidel, or in modern language a Deist."

In the early part of this article it was stated that party spirit ran high, and the two papers let no opportunity escape them for attacks on each other, or upon the men who differed from them in politics. Here is one from the Intelligencer:

"A PHENOMINOM.

"The Lancaster Journal publishes an extract from a letter said to have been written by Gen. Washington, dated 25 July, 1800—about seven months after he had been interred at least a dozen times."

Some Political Amenities.

Although it scarcely comes within the scope of these notes, I cannot re-

frain from going forward a few years, and giving you a few of the squibs concerning Gov. Snyder, at the time of his residence in Lancaster: He boarded and lodged at a tavern, the Red Bull, kept by Leonard Eichholz (April 21, 1809), and later (March 24, 1810) he resided in the house of Christopher Mayer, at the corner of Duke and Orange Streets. May 12, 1809, after calling Mr. Snyder "his 'Tannic' Majesty, Simon the first," it names his counsellor, Billy Reichenbach, "the Duke street beauty," and also,

"For sure such a pair
Was ne'er seen by my shoul
As his honor and Billy Baboon, Sir."

Mr. R. is called the "Hessian fifer," too.

Harrisburg was designated as Frogtown, but, so far, we have not been able to learn what pet name our sister city gave us. The petty wrangles and disputes of that day might furnish material for a most amusing paper.

Mr. Snyder's first wife was Miss Elizabeth Michael, daughter of Mr. Everhard Michael, formerly of Lancaster. His second wife, who died March 14, 1810, was the daughter of Mr. Frederick Antes, of Northumberland. Her obituary notice states (March 17): "Her remains are to be interred in the cemetery of the German Reformed Church. The funeral is to take place at 2 o'clock this day. The speakers and members of both houses are to attend." It then adds: "Mr. Snyder is about 50 years of age." Elsewhere we are told that his portrait was painted by Sully.

Taverns and Their Keepers.

What seems rather remarkable is the number of taverns or inns to be found in the borough in those early days. Many of them have been long since forgotten. I give some, with their locations, and the names of the men

who kept them, so far as in my power:
The Pennsylvania Arms, N. Queen St., Dr. Isaac Cohen.

The Bear, King St., east of the Court House.

Willow Grove Tavern, R. Dawson.

The Rain-bow, first in Adamstown, then in the house occupied by Mr. Gerhard Bubach, in N. Queen St., John Wentz.

Gen. Washington, E. King, Ferree.

The State Arms, E. King, H. Slaymaker.

Indian King, S. Queen, Robt. Wilson.

The Bull, E. King, Eichholtz.

The Spread Eagle, E. Orange, Peter Forney.

The Ship, E. King.

The White Horse, E. King, Christ. Heager.

Cross Keys, W. King, Hugh Wilson.

The Waggon, W. King, Christian Seidenbender.

Black Bear, E. King, Isaac Britzius.

The Buck, Centre Square, Daniel Herr.

The Lion, N. Queen, John White-side.

Bird-in-Hand, E. King, Patrick Green.

Fountain Inn, Henry Reigart.

There were three "Swans," the "White Swan," "The Black Swan," and "The Golden Swan." This last, the best known, was kept by Col. Slough.*

The King of Prussia, W. King St., had a large room, which was known as "Mr. Rohrer's long room," the "Ball

*Since these lines were written, I had occasion to go to the printing office of Messrs. Rhen & Reese, which occupies what once was the parlor of the Golden Swan. It is a long room, with two mantelpieces of wood, ornamented with plaster figures in Colonial style, on the South Queen street side. These mantels are painted, gray, and the old hearths of square bricks, laid diamondwise, are still there. The woodwork around and beneath the windows is all fluted, never having been changed since the days when, so tradition tells us, Washington and Lafayette visited the old hostelry.

room," and dancing lessons were given in it. Later (June 16, 1810), we are told that "the Lancaster Theatre will be fitted up at Mr. Rohrer's Ball-room" and opened by Mr. Durang and his company in "The Honeymoon."

Dances were also given (January 6, 1810) in Mr. Reigart's large room, at the Fountain Inn, where "gentlemen will not be permitted to dance in boots."

Old-Time Postage.

In striking contrast with the two-cent postage of to-day, here are the current rates for letters:

Under 40 miles, 8 cents; 40 to 90 miles, 10 cents; 90 to 150 miles, 12½ cents; 150 to 300 miles, 17 cents; 300 to 500 miles, 20 cents. All distances over this, 25 cents. Mrs. Ann Moore was postmistress in that year, 1810.

Sales of Real Estate.

What to me was perhaps the most interesting part of these old papers was to be found in the advertisements relating to the sales of houses. Among them are several references to Christopher Marshall, probably the son of the diarist:

September 23, 1801. "To be rented, in Lancaster, a Large Stone House, on the south side of Orange street, with the Lot adjoining, lately occupied by Alexander Anderson.

"CHRISTOPHER MARSHALL."

February 5, 1810. On this date this same gentleman offers for sale or exchange for property in the city of Philadelphia, the following valuable properties, situated on Orange Street:

"One large and remarkably substantial Stone house, with a stable and carriage house, and the lot on which they are erected, now in the tenure of John Cochran, Esq. Lot, 122 feet 6 inches by 255 feet deep."

"One large brick house and frame

tenant house, with the lot on which they are erected, situate at the northwest corner of Orange and Shippen streets, late the summer residence of Christopher Marshall, deceased. The lot is 64 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 245 feet deep. The exterior of the tenant house is neatly finished off with ornamental shingles, painted white. The grounds are laid out with taste, and abound with a variety of the best fruit. At the side of the house, and fronting the street, is a flower garden, bounded in front by a handsome palisade. The premises subject to the proprietor's ground-rent of 14 shillings sterling per annum."

"One large fruit lot, 128 feet 9 inches front by 245 deep, situate at the northeast corner of the same streets, with a commodious stable and carriage house at the back. This lot is filled with fruit trees and shrubs of various kinds. The fences on Orange and Shippen streets are of high, ornamental palings, painted white. This lot has been used for the convenience of the house last mentioned, but they will be disposed of either together or separately. The lot is subject to the proprietor's ground rent of 60 shillings sterling per annum."

These are offered for sale by Isaac R. Marshall, 64 South Fifth street, Philadelphia, with the following real estate, also on Orange street:

One frame house and lot, 32 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 245 feet, in the tenure of Margaret Hughes.

One well built house of logs, filled in with brick, and the lot, now in the tenure of Michael O'Kelly; 32 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 245 feet.

One vacant lot, 64 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 245 feet.

One log house and lot, 64 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 245 feet, now in the tenure of Michael Kline.

These four lots, all adjoining, were also on Orange street.

Here are a few names given to places in Lancaster:

August 30, 1800. "Will be sold, by Public Vendue, two certain lots in the Borough of Lancaster, known by the name of the Wilderness, late the estate of Col. Adam Hubley. To be sold Monday, Sept. 22."

February 10, 1810. "For Public Sale, that handsome situation, called Willow Grove, late the property of William Porter, dec., containing four lots..... and an excellent spring of never-failing water, situate in the east end of Orange Street."

January 15, 1800. Gerhart Bubach "offers for sale, a House and Lot, at the corner of Walnut and Mulberry streets, in Baumgarden, Lancaster." This advertisement was paid for in 1804.

May 3, 1811. "To be rented, a dwelling house, situated on Wolf's Hill."

There is also a place called Spring Garden, and on the southwest corner of King and Duke streets there stood three one-story log houses, real estate of George Glatz. February 17, 1810.

Kann's Alley is mentioned, July 7, 1801. It seems to have crossed Church street.

The Race Ground was near Lots 440 and 441. January 27, 1809.

The "Great Valley," in Sadsbury township. November 14, 1809.

The "Horseshoe Road," Leacock-towmship. August 25, 1810.

The circus exhibited on the lot south of Mr. Robert Wilson's tavern.

These notes, imperfect though they be, are now ended. It has been my pleasure and my privilege to lay them before you. But there is much more material awaiting any one who may choose to collect it. Some one else may reap a richer harvest.

MARY N. ROBINSON.

Minutes of May Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., May 1, 1903.

The usual monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon in the Society's rooms, in the Young Men's Christian Association building, President Steinman in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the March meeting was, on motion, dispensed with. The election of members being in order, Mrs. Charles J. Swarr, whose name was presented at the previous meeting, was duly elected. The applications of Mr. James A. Meyers and M. S. Shuman, both of Columbia, were presented and under the rules laid over until the next meeting.

The following donations were placed on the Society's shelves: By Vice President Evans, "Narrative of Col. John Connolly," Catlin's "North American Indians," Memoir of "Sarah C. Polk," "An Old Turnpike Road," "The Story of Gibralter," "Historical Record for 1874," "Agassiz's Journey to Brazil," Literary Magazine, "Dred Scott Case Decision," "Message of President in 1814," "Gilbert's Indian Captivity" and "Goodrich's History of the United States, 1827;" by Mrs. M. N. Robinson, autograph of James Buchanan and copy of the Daily Ration, a paper published in this city in 1867; by the New York Public Library, six volumes of the Library Bulletin and current numbers of volume seven; by H. M. Weaver, of Mansfield, Ohio, four framed pictures of the illustrations which appear in "Rupp's History of Lancaster County," the originals having been made by Mr.

Weaver's father for Mr. Rupp; by Dr. Houston, memorial addresses on the death of Hon. Marriott Brosius; and the Pennsylvania Year Book by F. R. Diffenderffer; also, the usual number of exchanges. A letter was read from Mr. H. E. Steinmetz, containing an offer of twelve volumes of the second series of Pennsylvania Archives from Dr. P. J. Roebuck. A vote of thanks was tendered to each of the above donors for their contributions.

The paper of the day was a continuation of "Gleanings From an Old Newspaper," by Mrs. Mary N. Robinson. It was a selection of the most notable and striking occurrences that appeared in Lancaster's oldest newspaper from 1798 to 1810, with comments and historical observations. Like the first article, it was very entertaining and led to a long and interesting discussion relative to the persons and events mentioned. A vote of thanks was tendered Mrs. Robinson for her valuable paper, and it was ordered to be printed.

Dr. Houston, from the committee to inquire into the status of the Ross Monument case, reported that the proprietors of Rossmere had decided to retain complete ownership. The committee on procuring a new book case reported progress and asked to be continued.

There being no further business, the Society, on motion, adjourned.

The meeting was unusually well attended, a pleasant feature being the large number of ladies present.



PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JUNE 5, 1903.



THE GREAT HISTORICAL SCENES ENACTED IN
LANCASTER'S FIRST COURT HOUSE,
1739 - 1784.

MINUTES OF THE JUNE MEETING.

VOL. VII. NO. 9.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1903.

The Great Historical Scenes Enacted in Lancaster's First	
Court House, 1739-1784, - - - - -	177
By H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq..	
Minutes of the June Meeting, - - - - -	210

The Great Historical Scenes Enacted in Lancaster's First Court House, 1739-1784.

It is my purpose to draw forth and exhibit before you, in their chronological order, for a little while, this afternoon, a few pictures from the archives, the ancient records and treasures of our county's primitive days. So strange and grotesque will some of them be that they will stand forth like creatures of imagination, and seem not to be founded on fact at all. Some will bear such immediate and important relations to our great country's struggles and growth as to make it difficult to conceive that the events set forth in them ever occurred in modest little Lancaster town; and all of them, when set down on the real stage where the stormy events recorded in them happened, not more than 600 feet from where we stand, in the now busy, surging, centre of our active city, all of them, when thus quietly set in order, there, where, from 165 to 120 years ago, they were produced, invested with their strange men, strange manners, strange dress, quaint, scattered dwellings, and modest little red brick building and theatre, where it was all enacted, will entirely displace the new and statelier scenes that claim that stage to-day; will annihilate the 165 years that intervene between us and those memorable times; and will stand out, not as something of past and distant ages and of remote rela-

tionship to us, but as scenes of the present and part and parcel of our very community life.

The First Court House in This City.

The county's first Court House, as we all know, was not in Lancaster borough or town. My paper, however, is to treat upon the first Court House that was erected in the town, afterward (in 1740) the borough of Lancaster. Though the Act of May 10, 1729,(1) enacts that the Commissioners, empowered to erect Lancaster county, "shall purchase" a piece of land and erect "thereon a Court House, etc.," it appears that it was not completed for ten years later. Under date of November 3, 1737, there is a record in the Commissioners' office that "The Commissioners mett and considered about getting ye court house finished." Finally it was finished in the spring of 1739, as the record shows. February 6, 1739, the "commissioners agreed with Theo. Plutus Hartman, to glaze ye court house windows for £3 10s., they finding glass and lead and lines, he to find all ye other things wanted, to finish ye same before ye first day of May." And May 7, 1739, a janitor was appointed, John Young.

Its General Appearance.

This Court House, located in the centre of the Square, was a two-storied brick building. It was neither large nor commodious. The lower room was the Court room. It was paved with brick. For a time, it seemed to have a plain, temporary bench and bar, as November 12, 1737, the record is: "Samuel Blunston, Esquire, was in town, who assisted in advice, and it was resolved that ye bench that now is and barr, should be taken downe and altered and two turned posts should be fixed under

(1) Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, p. 133.
Sec. 6.

the girder, which is to be done before ye floor be paved there." This bench and bar were accordingly supplanted by permanent ones. The room contained a large fire hearth, on either side of which were two pillars, set upon cut stones. Underneath the main girder there were two massive turned pillars, set on firmly planted stones. Emblazoned above the Judges' bench were the Royal Arms of England. This was an elaborately carved affair, and the record reads, June 1, 1750, the Commissioners "agreed with Michael Stump to carve, paint and affix in ye court house, in ye borough of Lancaster, over ye President's chair ye effigy of ye King's Coat of Arms of Great Britain." A witness box, two rows of seats for jurors and benches for litigants and the public complete the furniture. The windows were glazed with small panes of glass, leaded in, and provided with blinds or shades of green horizontal slates or shades on cords. The Prothonotary, or clerk, it seems, had small pocket rooms in the rear of the Judges' bench, on the same floor.

The second floor contained a council chamber, with a speakers' platform, and two or three small rooms for the records and storage purposes; similar furniture, lacking bench and bar, graced this, and it was similarly lighted.

There were a steeple and belfry on the roof, and a clock with two dials, one facing north and the other south. The roofs of the building and its pent houses were of shingles. For the record runs that scaffold poles were to be ordered to enable the carpenters to shingle ye pent houses of ye court house.

Public buildings in those days seem to have been as mortal and as liable to rapid decay as in modern times, for, only four or five years after the building was finished, the record informs

us, "January 12, 1744, ye commissioners took into consideration repairing of ye court house."

Outside and before the "front of ye court house" a large, wide pavement was made, and on the commons near it the stocks and pillory were erected.(2)

Such is the imperfect description which we are able to collect of this humble building, destined to be the theatre of a series of wonderful and momentous events and proceedings.

Its Cost and First Events.

It surely was an humble one, because the law of May 12, 1729, allowed the Commissioners to raise only £300 of Pennsylvania money by taxation to buy the land and build;(3) and the Act of February 14, 1730, allowed them to borrow only £300 additional by bills of credit, to finish the same.(1) It is no wonder that the building was not completed for ten years. The economy of our forefathers, in those respects, is a valuable lesson, which we, in our later-day extravagant habits, may well heed.

The earliest events of any unique interest transpiring in our first Court House were certain elections of the entire county. It is provided by the fifth section of the Act of May 10, 1728.(2) "The election of Representatives to serve in General Assembly, assessors and all other officers of the said county who are or shall be appointed, to be annually elected, shall be made and elected at or near the said court house, etc." And thus the law remained, until September 17, 1785, when it was repealed and the custom changed.(3)

(2) Evans and Ellis' History of Lancaster County, 202.

(3) Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, page 133, Sec. 7.

(1) Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, page 152, Sec. 2.

(2) Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, p. 131.

(3) Laws of Pa., Chap. 1175, Vol. 3.

A Picture of Those Early Times.

What annual scenes these were! They began at the beginning of the life of the Court House—they were changed by law about the time the Court House was destroyed. Here, each autumn, for forty-five years, came together the Irish from the southern hills of our county, and the northwestern township, on, and far across the Susquehanna, for York county, Adams and Cumberland were part of Lancaster county then: there, too, came the Quakers from the eastern townships; the Germans from the north and northeast, including Dauphin, Lebanon and Berks; and the scattered Frenchmen, from various sections.

How the imaginative can revel in picturing to himself the costumes, the customs, the manners, the discussions, the electioneering, the groupings, the surging in and out and about, and the whole panorama of patriotic and political activity, which was yearly enacted under the eaves and upon the commons of our little old Court House!

In this Court House, too, the county's part in forming and laying out the great framework of early constitutional government was performed. May 19, 1739, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, made up of the Lieutenant Governor and the representatives of the freemen, under the approbation of the King, passed an Act, providing that the Justices of the respective counties, at their next general Quarter Sessions of the Peace..... proceed to divide their counties into eight districts or hundreds, allotting, as nearly as may be, an equal number of adjacent townships to each district "for the purpose of electing therein inspectors of election to assist annually in taking the vote at the Court House.(4)

(4) Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, p. 331.

Who Were the Court.

In the Court House at the August Sessions of 1839 the Justices of Lancaster county so divided our county. And thus was divided Lancaster county, which then was an empire of 5,000 square miles, as now it is an empire in every way.

The Justices in those days were Justices, indeed; not scrambling Aldermen and 'Squires. They came together in February, May, August and November of each year at the Court House and held Court, then and there, as a Board of Judges, and with a jury disposing of the cases which one or another of them between the terms had bound over for Court.

Servants Taken from Their Masters.

The year 1741 was made famous by a remarkable event in our old Court House. The irreproachable John Wright, Esq., a sturdy Quaker, and for years a member of the Assembly, since 1736 or 1737, had been appointed a Justice of the Peace and also President of the Common Pleas of Lancaster county. A custom had grown up in Governor Thomas' administration of government contracts made with servants who had indentured themselves to masters, whereby they were brought into the King's armies, and by 1740 servants to the number of 276 were taken from their masters, and the Assembly compensated the masters in the amount of £2,588 for them. This was both an underpayment to the masters, who were forced to give them up, and a burden upon the public, which was paying for them.(5) But Governor Thomas approved it, and John Wright was bold and outspoken against it and the administration.

Wright knew the displeasure which

(5) Rupp's Lancaster County History, 275.

the Governor entertained toward him, and at the May Sessions of 1741, from the bench of the old Court House, delivered a charge to the Grand Jury upon the abuses of the day, and especially abuses by the executive, so remarkable that the Commissioners ordered it published in full.

In this charge he heartily scored the Governor for attempting various encroachments upon the other arms of the Government's power, and as a result was dismissed and another Justice appointed in his stead.

But Wright was right. His charge was an eloquent voice of liberty resounding from the little old Court House, and the county approved him and stood by him. He was a grand old man; and his life work meant the same to our early county's government that the great John Marshall's meant half a century later, on a more magnificent scale to our nation's constitution and the great fundamental rights of the American people.

Count Zinzendorf Comes.

The year 1742 records another noted event connected with our old Court House. In that year the great Nicolaus Ludwig—Count Zinzendorf—preached sermons in the Court room.(6) How great an event this was does not appear in its bare statement. Who was Zinzendorf? How great a man was he? He was born in Dresden, Germany, May 26, 1700. He was a son of George Ludwig, Chamberlain and Minister of Augustus, Elector of Saxony. He devoted himself to religious studies at Halle; he studied law at the University of Wittenberg; he had a great imagination, a faculty of eloquence, and great personal beauty and dignity. He traveled and preached throughout Holland and France. He published religious periodicals, called the "German

(6) Rupp's History, p. 283.

Socrates." He sent missionaries to America from Herrnhut in 1732, and planted religious colonies over Europe. In 1734 he was ordained a minister of the Lutheran Church. He was banished from Saxony in 1736 and then began to travel over the world. He gained the favor of Frederick William I., of Prussia, who caused him to be ordained a Bishop in 1737, by his own Chaplain. He came to Pennsylvania in 1742, preached at Germantown for some time and established congregations at Bethlehem and Nazareth. He visited England in 1749, obtained an Act of Parliament authorizing the establishment of Moravian missions in North America. He wrote numerous hymns, which are used in Moravian churches. He died in 1760.(1)

So great a man, in the height of his fame, preached on that spot, where now the monument, then the Court House, stood, in 1742. He spent some time in our county, at Lancaster, at Lititz, at Ephrata, and in Manor township, among the Indians.

Our Greatest Indian Treaty.

Lancaster's modest little Court House was next the theatre of a scene which, removed from it by 159 years, as we are to-day, was so grotesque, so quaint, and so like a chapter from the records of aboriginal savagery that it seems like fiction rather than fact. For a season of thirteen days—from June 22 to July 4, inclusive—1744, in the center of Centre Square, where now each hour of the day thirty-three clang ing and rattling trolley cars enter and depart—594 during every eighteen hours out of twenty-four—where vans and wagons, autos and carriages, cabs and barouches and numberless pedestrians are hurriedly surging back and forth and intricately

(1) Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary, Vol. 2, p. 2319.

winding in and out; and where the silent patriotic monument shaft keeps now its nightly vigil—on that spot, nearly one and three-fourths centuries ago, was held, in the little red brick Court House, the great "Indian Treaty of Lancaster."(2)

At that great council of a fortnight, it was decided that for a quantity of vermillion,(3) flints, jewsharps, boxes, barr-lead, shot, gunpowder, strouds, shirts, thick, duffle blankets and guns valued at two hundred (£200) pounds and £200 in gold, and sufficient rum and provisions to see them home, cheer their spirits and regale their bodies on the way, the Six Nations of Indians surrendered all right to all of the King's lands in Virginia; abandoned it forever and by their marks executed and delivered a deed with covenants giving up these lands.(4) It was also then and there decided that for similar goods and money to the extent of £300 the Six Nations should cede all claim to any of the King's lands in Maryland.(5)

Here, too, it was compacted and agreed on the part of Pennsylvania, with the Six Nations, for £300 in goods and belts of fine wampum(6) that the Six Nations would renew all their former treaties to league with the English and against the French, and by this powerful influence bring all the lesser tribes to the same alliance. To seal the same compact on the part of Maryland, £100 were given and £100 for a similar compact with Virginia. Thus for £1,200 all told, these Indians gave up the disputed lands in Virginia and Maryland and formed anew a solemn league with Pennsylvania (which included Delaware), Virginia

(2) Col. Rec., Vol. 4, p. 698.
(3) Mombert's History of Lancaster

County, Ap., p. 68.

(4) Mombert, p. 78, Ap.

(5) Mombert, p. 67, Ap.

(6) Mombert, p. 81, Ap.

(which included West Virginia) and Maryland to stand by them and their English King against the Sovereigns of France.

Who Composed It.

How quaint the picture was, indeed! Lancaster, with only about 500 people,(7) a borough principally of log houses—a borough of four years old—was the community where it all happened. A little, modest, two-story brick Court House, the edifice where the motley treating assemblage met. The participants, about 150 in number, made up of the gaudily painted and gaily plumed, feathered and bedecked chieftains of the six confederated and most powerful tribes of the Middle Atlantic Indians, with their guns, hatchets and kettles with them,(8) of the gold-laced cavalier representatives of the Governor of Maryland—Thomas Lee and Colonel Wm. Beverly, and representatives of Virginia's Governor—Edmund Jennings, Philip Thomas, Robert King and Colonel Thomas Cavil; of the Hon. George Thomas, Lieut. Governor of Pennsylvania, attended by both his Quaker and German countrymen; of the scholarly German, Conrad Weiser, interpreter; and of exalted personages—dusky dignitaries and deputies of the Onandagoes, Senecas, Cayagoes, Oneidas, Mohawks and Tuscarora Indian Nations.

In that Court House, in the upper chamber, they gather and there they interchange those beautiful simple speeches of brotherly love, which marked them, sincere men and great souls; which are gems of simplicity, strength and truth to-day, brilliant in the governmental documentary and archives of our State; and which evolved out of chaos more simple, substantial good in two weeks than a modern Legisla-

(7) Rupp, p. 261.

(8) Mombert, p. 58, An.

ture can do in two months, though they be of one tribe.

The minutes of that memorable treaty read like those of some strange arbitration between two groups of children, of which one induces the other, by gifts of baubles and toys, to give up their playground and seek another.

The Preliminaries Completed.

They are assembled in the upper chamber on Friday afternoon, June 22, 1744. "The Governor of Pennsylvania and the Commissioners take some of the Indian chiefs by the hand, and after they seat themselves the Governor bids them welcome into the government, and their being wine and punch prepared for them, the governor and the commissioners drink health to the Six Nations, and Canassatego, Tachanagonita and some other chiefs drink the health of Onas, Assaraquoa and the Governor of Maryland." Next they are all served with wine, punch, pipes and tobacco, and, after they smoke, the Governor tells them they now must have rest until Monday, when they settle a few preliminaries and adjourn. The great treaty is inaugurated. Then they meet from day to day, and the speechmaking and interpretation go on. They talk of enlarging the council fires that had nearly gone out and of brightening all the links in the golden chain of friendship. At the conclusion of each speech they exchange belts of wampum and shout the Jo-hah—the Indian mode of approval and applause. The speeches eventually bring up the subject of the lands to be ceded and the goods to be paid.

The goods are spread upon tables in the chamber and the Commissioners ask the Indians to examine them whether the price suited them or not. They show dissatisfaction. The Indians require time to go down into the

main court room for a consultation among the chiefs, and the interpreter goes with them. They go down in stately silence, and consult. Then they re-enter the chamber and state the goods they select and those they reject. On the morning of June 29 a Deal Board or planed board is used on which are black lines tracing the Potommac and Susquehanna rivers. Canassatego, a chief, turning to the board said, "We renounce all right to Lord Baltimore of those lands lying two miles above the uppermost fork of Potommac, and we will accept the people therein as brethren." On the morning of June 30 Gachadow, the chief orator among the Indians, "with a strong voice and proper actions," made a speech, saying the world on the other side of the water was as different from it on this side as Indian skin is from white skin; that that which pale faces call justice may not be among Indians; that though the great King might send pale faces to conquer Indians, yet no one can remember that he ever did conquer them; that we conquered other tribes, we admit; we sent for the Catawbas to come and treat with us, but they sent word back that we are women and so war continued with them till all were destroyed. On July 2, the Virginians open their chests of goods and the Indians flock about and inspect them. The same day the deeds are produced and the Indians set their signatures by marks to them and deliver the same. On the last day of the session, July 4, the honors and compliments hold sway.

Canassatego Speaks.

Canassatego, the leading chief, mounts the platform and with courtly dignity praises the interpreter, Conrad Weiser, and hopes he will long be preserved by the Good Spirit and presents him a string of wampum. The spokes-

man then expresses the gratitude the Six Nations feel for the handsome presents—the several hundred pounds in gold—which the Governors had given them, over and above the price paid for treaty considerations, and apologizes for the fact that because they are poor, they cannot give more than three bundles of skins in return. He then counsels the thirteen colonies to live in union and harmony, and points out that through the wisdom of the fore-fathers of the Six Nations they have ever since lived in union and became formidable and powerful among the Indians; and he closed his memorable speech with the advice, "whatsoever befalls you, never fall out with one another." Speeches were made in reply by the Governor and various representatives. The Indians now reminded the whites that if they, the English, had been so successful over the French, they must have captured some rum among the booty, and they desired some of it, not in small French glasses, but in large, liberal English glasses. The reply was that they should receive it, whereupon the Indians gave in their order five Jo-hahs—each tribe giving its own.

The Closing Ceremonies.

Then the health of all was drunk, and also the health of the great King of England and of the Six Nations, and an end was put to the treaty by three loud huzzas, in which all the company joined.

In the evening the Governor took leave of the Indians and gave them presents; the Commissioners of Virginia gave Canassatego a scarlet camblet coat, and took their leave in high ceremonial form; the Commissioners of Maryland presented Gachadow, the Indian orator, with a broad, gold-laced hat, and took their leave with form and ceremony.

The great treaty was ended as the light was fading out of the west, and the little borough of Lancaster town wrapped itself in its mantle and slept.

Names of the Chief Men.

In Pennsylvania Archives we learn the names of all the Indians who were present at this wonderful treaty of 1744 at Lancaster. There were twenty of the Onondagoes; twenty-six of the Cayaogas; twelve of the Oneidas; four of the Senecas; sixteen of the Tuscaroras; thirteen of the Conestoga Indians; Wekeuhlaky and eight of his countrymen; ten of the Nanticoques; eight of the Conoys; nine of the Sapony, and the Delawares were forbid to come to the treaty—making in all 127 Indians.(1) Imagine what an array surging in and out of our little, modest Court House, and what an audience within its narrow walls this assemblage was! Were it to happen to-day, our town would be more congested than upon the grand entry of the circus and the sway of our agricultural fairs.

Still Another Treaty.

Four years later this same Court House is the scene of the Indian Treaty of 1748. It met July 19. Benjamin Shoemaker, Thomas Hopkinson, Joseph Turner and William Logan, Commissioners in His Majesty's name, under the great seal of the Province, appointed at Philadelphia; the magistrates and inhabitants of Lancaster county; fifty-five Indians, of several nations, to wit: Of the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawoneese, Nanticoques and Twightwees; Conrad Weiser, interpreter for the Six Nations, and Andrew Montour, interpreter for the Shawoneese and Twightwees, were present.(2) At this treaty the little Court

(1) Pa. Archives, 1664-1747, p. 656.

(2) Col. Rec., Vol. 5, p. 307.

House was crowded. The citizens and magistrates of the county turned out. The treaty lasted but five days—July 19 to 23, inclusive, 1748. The main question disposed of, at this treaty, was that of admitting the Twightwee Indian Nation as "good friends and allies of the English nation." These were Indians living on the headwaters of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. The result was that on July 23, 1748, a long legal document, or treaty compact, signed by twenty-eight signatures, of the different Commissioners and Indians, was executed and delivered, after four days of eloquent speech-making.

Some Later Treaties.

The only incident of note apart from the main work of the meeting (and it is one that appeals to our imagination rather than to our investigating powers) is the record that the minutes contain of the elaborate dinner which the Commissioners gave the Twightwees and the Indians who conducted them from Ohio, July 21. It is recorded that the Commissioners gave a handsome entertainment to them and after dinner entered into a free conversation about the numbers and situations of their towns and those of their allies, from which it appeared they had twenty towns along the river and 1,000 fighting men, and in a general way showed the great advantage to the English these Indians would prove.

In 1755 there was another treaty at the Court House with the Conestoga Indians and a list of the twenty-three who were present appears in the Archives.(1) Nothing of great importance was there transacted. Also, in 1756, the then Governor of the Province, Robert H. Morris, met representatives of a majority of the Six Nations of Indians at the Court House to inquire

(1) Pa. Archives, 1748-1756, p. 242.

why two tribes of the Six Nations—the Shawonese and Delawares—had forgotten their treaty obligations. The Governor in his report of the meeting, which he sent to Councils at Philadelphia, is very sanguine that the English could depend upon the other four tribes of the Six Nations remaining loyal to the English.(2)

Lancaster the Capital of the State.

Lancaster three times enjoyed the distinction of being the Capital of the Province, afterwards the State of Pennsylvania. First, a few days beginning August 11, 1762; next, from October 1, 1777, to June 28, 1778; and next, in 1799, and some years following.

The minutes of the proceedings of the executive branch of the Province of Pennsylvania of August 11, 1762, are set down as follows: "At a council held at Lancaster, on Wednesday, the 11th, August, 1762: Present:—Hon. James Hamilton, Esq., Lieut. Governor and William Logan, Benjamin Chew, et al. of the council.(3) In the little court house they sat. On the 12th there were present several members of the council; six or eight members of the Assembly, magistrates and gentleman from Philadelphia and others and the chiefs and warriors of more than a dozen Indian tribes. At this conference there were 557 Indians present.(4) At this treaty, too, the Indians desired their guns, hatchets and kettles repaired and the Governor sent for them to be brought into the Council House for that purpose.(5) This treaty and conference, it seems, was held in part at the Court House (which they called Council House) and in part out among the tribes as they encamped about the town. The exchange or delivery of prisoners the Indians had

(2) Col. Rec., Vol. 6, p. 776.

(3) Col. Rec., Vol. 8, p. 721.

(4) Ibid, p. 730.

(5) Ibid, p. 734.

made was at the Court House.(6) Here the Indians delivered 18 or 20 of their prisoners. The sum of 1200 pounds was given for these ransoms and certain Indian claims to lands."

One session of the Treaty, August 24, was held at the old Lutheran Church.(7) Presents were made to the Indians of several hundred pounds, worth of goods from Mr. Hambright's Malt House.(8) Long lists of the names of the Indians participating in the treaty of 1762 may be found in the Archives.(9)

The Indian Treaties.

How wonderful it is to know that at the last of these four Indian treaties, and at the one of which the Twightwees were participants, the Western tribes of Indians were of those who had in 1755, forgetting their old treaties, joined the French and wrought such terrible slaughter upon Braddock and the English at Fort Duquesne! Here in our Court House were met in peaceful conference those brutal butchers whom the King's men and armies could not withstand.

It is incumbent upon me to drop a word or two of explanation upon the real value and importance of these Indian conferences at our Court House. We can readily see that the members present were not great enough to make their treaties great for that reason; we also know that the value of the goods given the savages was not large enough to make the treaties great; nor was the cession of land by the Indians to the whites the chief importance of the treaties. The principal value lay in the relation which these treaties with the Indians bore to the great national struggles and wars which the French and English

(6) Ibid, p. 749.

(7) Ibid, p. 757.

(8) Ibid, p. 774.

(9) Pa. Archives, 1760-1776, n. 90.

were fighting out here as well as in Europe. It was of the supremest importance to either nation to secure the co-operation of the most powerful of the Indians. Treaties were made elsewhere, besides Lancaster and Philadelphia, but in none of them was the issue made of greater importance to the English than in those made here in our little Court House. Reading these relations and results of these treaties into them, I am justified in placing those treaties—those quaint scenes here in Centre Square—among the greatest events in America, in those days.

The Struggle With the Mother Country.

But our little Court House was destined to be the stage upon which far livelier scenes and more momentous events were soon to occur. A breach is now beginning to be visible between the Colonists and the mother country. The Colonists are smarting under unjust oppressions.

About 1772 Parliament passed a law placing a tax upon glass, paper, colors, tea, etc., which the Colonists were to pay before they could import and use any of these goods. This caused the Bostonians to throw overboard the ship of tea in their harbor which the British Government had confiscated, because no tax was paid on it. The overthrow of this tea brought the British General Gage to America "to dragoon the Bostonians into compliance," in 1774.

The whole country felt that Boston's fight was their own, and Pennsylvania asked her Governor to call the Assembly together. He refused. The Committee of Correspondence for Philadelphia therefore addressed a circular letter to each county, setting forth the Governor's refusal and also that Philadelphia city and county would hold a meeting at the State

House, June 15, 1774. The letter further desired that the sentiments of the different counties be taken on the general cause and suggested that the several counties call together the principal inhabitants to take such sentiments.(1) As late as 1850 the original letter was in our Prothonotary's office.

Measures Adopted.

A meeting was accordingly held in our little Court House, June 15, 1774, in the evening, while the larger meeting was holding forth at Philadelphia. At this Lancaster meeting it was fearlessly resolved: "That to preserve the constitutional rights of the inhabitants of America, it is incumbent on every colony to unite and use the most effectual means to procure a repeal of the late Act of Parliament against the town of Boston." The resolutions also declared that the method to effect the end was to stop all importations from or exportations to Great Britain from and by all the Colonists; it called on all traders and inhabitants of this county to concur with the manufacturers and merchants to enter a solemn agreement for this purpose and nominated a committee consisting of Edward Shippen, George Ross, Jasper Yeates, Matthias Slough, James Webb, William Atlee, Wm. Henry, Ludwig Lauman, Wm. Bausman and Charles Hall, the foremost 10 men of the county, being 10 of the greatest men in the State, to correspond with the General Committee at Philadelphia.

All this bold protest against England was framed in our little Court House as well as the spontaneous machinery for carrying it out. The result of this meeting was a great meeting and uprising of the city and county two or three weeks later.

(1) Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 372.

The People Speak Out.

On the ninth of July, 1774, at two o'clock in the afternoon, one of the most memorable meetings that ever convened in this or any other county was held at the Court House.(2) George Ross was chosen Chairman and the meeting, taking into consideration the several Acts of Parliament, passed eleven resolutions, at the close of an afternoon of most stirring and patriotic speech-making and enthusiasm. These resolutions in substance were:

1. That George III. is the rightful King.
2. That no one but the representatives in Assembly has power to tax, or grant money.
3. That the late Acts of Parliament are unconstitutional, unjust and oppressive.
4. That duty impels them to oppose every encroachment upon their rights.
5. That a close union of the colonies and obedience to Congress alone will put their rights on a firm basis.
6. That a committee must be sent to meet the central convention in Philadelphia.
7. That this county will abide by whatever Congress shall do.
8. That suffering Boston has their tenderest sympathy.
9. That subscriptions be taken for Boston's relief.
10. That the subscriptions be spent in buying goods for Boston.

II. That the committee appointed be augmented and continued.

George Ross was tendered a vote of thanks for his proper and spirited address and the thanks of the Assembly were tendered Mr. Ross for his patriotic conduct on this occasion.

What a notable and noble meeting! The resolutions then and there passed

were the incipient Declaration of Independence itself. What else can mean the sublime obedience to Congress? the defiance of any one but the representatives to raise money? the expression "encroachments upon our liberties?" Grand old building! Though humble its walls, though low and modest its eaves, though dingy its windows—on that afternoon any patriotic soul could have seen its modest bricks change into glistening marble, its lowly dimensions rise and stretch into stately and towering proportions and radiant from it, in clean white brilliance, the glorious sunrise of the dawning and divinely appointed new nation fast rising in America.

Supporting the Congress.

December 15, 1774, a different scene is set about and within this Court House. On that bright, glistening winter day the freemen of the entire county meet at the Court House to choose by ballot 60 persons for a committee to "observe the conduct of all persons touching the general association of the general Congress." This committee was erected upon the recommendation of Congress that there should be such committee or body. This was for the purpose of causing all persons to obey Congress and its acts and especially in cases where the Acts of Congress were derogatory to the Acts of Parliament.(1)

The Work of Preparation Begun.

A year or two now elapses and the history of the county is the same as the history of the country at large—increasing tyrannical measures by Parliament, increasing disaffection and finally loss of faith in King George II. At last the glorious Fourth of July, 1776, dawns, and, as it does, it beholds in Lancaster a scene of imposing

(1) Rupp's History, p. 343.

military grandeur and of solemn martial splendor. On the very day that the august Congress at Philadelphia is considering the awful question of independence, in its final stages, there are convened in Lancaster, about its Court House, 53 battalions of soldiers, the freemen of half the counties of eastern Pennsylvania and thousands of citizens. The news of Bunker Hill is still running like wildfire over the country—the shot heard 'round the world is still reverberating. An election this day is being held here at Centre Square to elect two Brigadier Generals to command the battalions and forces of Pennsylvania. Colonel George Ross is made President of the meeting, and the great day is inaugurated.(2) Hundreds of privates and scores of subordinate officers were present. It was a wonderful day, resounding with martial music, consumed by the election and marches and manœuvres.

The People Endorse Congress.

And now a different scene is set upon the stage. About July 7 the news that the Declaration of Independence was adopted reached Lancaster. The scene that followed was not one of concerted action like the preceding ones, but a continuous performance of renunciation. The magistrates, the whole horde of ministerial, executive and lesser judicial officials now came flocking to the Court House and surrendered the commissions which they had received directly or indirectly from the King and gave up their offices. The justices and Judges of the Courts, they being Courts of the King, suspended all business, refused to recognize the King and ordered the English Coat of Arms to be removed from the Court room.(3)

(2) Rupp's History, p. 404.

(3) Rupp's History, p. 408.

By July 15, 1776, eleven days after Independence, there is a convention at Philadelphia to frame a new constitution—and Pennsylvania and Lancaster county has her members on hand participating.(4)

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Congress Resolves to Come Here.

But our little Court House was yet to have her greatest day of triumph. In the autumn of 1777, General Howe, after two victories near Brandywine and Germantown, was pushing into Philadelphia. The Congress of the nation was sitting there and in fear for their safety, on Sunday, September 14, 1777, in Congress, resolved, "That if Congress be obliged to remove from Philadelphia, Lancaster be the place where they shall meet."(5) It was also resolved that the public papers be put under the care of Mr. Clark, and that he be empowered, upon the Congress removing to Lancaster, to procure wagons sufficient for conveying them thither and apply to General Dickinson or any other officers commanding troops in the service of the United States, who is hereby directed to furnish a guard to conduct the said papers safely to Lancaster."(6)

Congress Sets in Our Court House.

Upon the Journals of Congress it next appears "Thursday, September 18, 1777, adjourned to ten o'clock tomorrow." "During the adjournment, the President received a letter from Colonel Hamilton, one of General Washington's aids, which intimated the necessity of removing the Congress immediately from Philadelphia; whereupon the members left the city, and agreeably to the resolve of the 14th repaired to Lancaster."(7) The

(4) Rupp's History, p. 408.

(5) Journals of Congress, Vol. 2, p. 265.

(6) Ibid, p. 265-270.

(7) Ibid, p. 265-270.

next week is consumed by the delegates of Congress wending their way with their government belongings toward Lancaster, while wagons were slowly bringing on the papers, records, etc. Saturday, September 27, 1777, finds them seated in the little hero Court House at Lancaster—the great Congress of the country.

And now follow the entire proceedings of the government of the nation while Lancaster, for one brief day, was the seat of the Government of the United States.

Proceedings of Congress While Here.

The minutes, verbatim, as they appear in the Journals of Congress are as follows: "Lancaster, Saturday, September 27, 1777, a letter of the 15th from General Gates at the heights above Behman's; one of the 16th from Colonel Gist, at Christiana Bridge; one of the 16th from Colonel Gibson, at Alexandria; and one of the 23d from General Washington, at Pottsgrove, were read.

"A letter from Brigadier General Conway, one from Col. G. Morgan, at Fort Pitt, with several papers enclosed, and a letter from the Baron de Kalb to Col. R. H. Lee, were read.

"Resolved, That they be referred to the board of war."

"A letter of the 16th from Joseph Trumball was read. Ordered that it be referred to the board of the treasury.

"Resolved, That the board of war be directed to co-operate with General Washington in devising and carrying into execution effectual measures for supplying the army with firearms, shoes, blankets, stockings, provisions and other necessaries: and that in executing this business these collections be confined, as much as circumstances will admit, to persons of disaffected and equivocal characters.

"Resolved, That the treasury board direct the treasurer, with all his papers, forms, etc., to repair to the town of York, in Pennsylvania.

"Adjourned to York town, there to meet on Tuesday next at 10 o'clock."(1)

And they adjourned to York, where, on October 2, 1777, as the journals show, it was "Resolved, that the Articles of Confederation be taken into consideration to-morrow morning, at 11 o'clock."(2)

The Stay Brief, But Glorious.

These are, verbatim, the proceedings of the Federal Government, which the fathers of our nation enacted in Lancaster's little Court House. Modest little capitol building of the country it was, indeed—a humble White House to be sure—a dingy little chamber or House of Representatives.

Yet the event is glorious; the fact will remain a fact, that Lancaster was, for one day, the capital of the nation, and its little Court House the Federal Government building, its White House and Legislative Chamber, though our nation shall become 1,000 or 2,000 years old. The immortal record is made—it cannot be blotted out.

The Men Who Were Here.

And who were the men that sat in that session of Congress at Lancaster? For New Hampshire, there was Samuel Fulsom; for Massachusetts, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Elbridge Gerry and James Lovell; for Rhode Island, Henry Marchant and Eliphilet Dyer; for Connecticut, Richard Low and William Williams; for New York, James Duane and William Duerr; for Pennsylvania, David Roberdeau; for Maryland, Samuel Chase and Charles

(1) Journals of Congress, Vol. 2, p. 270.

(2) Journals of Congress, Vol. 2, p. 272.

Carroll; for Virginia, Benjamin Harrison, Joseph Jones, F. H. Lee and R. H. Lee; for North Carolina, John Penn and Cornelius Harnett; for South Carolina, Arthur Middleton, Thomas Hayward and Henry Laurens; and for Georgia, Nathan Bowman.(3) New Jersey and Delaware, it seems, were not represented.

Who were these men? And why was it so important that they should flee from Philadelphia? They were the very head of the Government that had rebelled against England. They were responsible for the Declaration of Independence. If caught, they would surely all have been hanged. These, in short, were the head and front of the entire rebellion. They were framing a new government—the Articles of Confederation—and General Washington, in the field, was fighting to maintain the Government they had organized.

After adjourning at Lancaster, Saturday evening, the Congress went to York by way of Bethlehem. At the latter place they spent Sunday. Some attended the Moravian Church and praised the music; and others remained at the Sun Inn and drank Madeira wine.

The Congress moved from Lancaster to York on horseback, taking care to drink a sufficient quantity of Madeira before starting.(4) The manner by which the papers and documents of Congress were removed through Bristol to Bethlehem, and from there to Lancaster and to York, in a four-horse wagon, guarded by a few companies of troops, is set forth in an interesting letter, on the subject from John Adams, and may be found in Prowell & Gibson's

(3) Journals of Congress, Vol. 2, p. 273; also, Geo. R. Prowell, Esq., York.

(4) Per George R. Prowell, York.

History of York County, written in
1886.(5)

'Lancaster the State Capital Also.

Not only was the national Government, as above stated, at Lancaster in 1777, but from October 1 of that year until June 20, 1778, the Supreme Executive Council of the State, the head of the State Government, was here, and held its sessions in the little Court House.(6) While the State Government was here a long series of great events took place.

On January 20, 1778, General Fulsom and Mr. Duane, members of Congress, being a committee appointed by Congress, came to the Court House from York, where Congress was sitting, and took up, with the Supreme Executive Council, the question of a monster attack upon Philadelphia, to regain it. These men came in response to a resolution passed January 2, at our Court House, by Council(7), recommending to Congress that the Government of Pennsylvania is ready to lead such attack and to "regain the Capital of our State and drive out our cruel invaders." Congress greatly applauded the patriotism of Pennsylvania and promised to do everything to help the project.

Here, too, the Council of Safety for Lancaster County was erected and extinguished.(1)

The Oath of Allegiance.

Here, too, in the Court House, the new oaths of allegiance which were drawn up by Congress were publicly read and ordered published throughout the land, and all officers commanded to come and subscribe thereto within

(5) Prowell & Gibson's History of York County, p. 136.

(6) Col. Rec., Vol. 11, pp. 318-521.

(7) Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 404.

(1) Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 353.

twenty days.(2) This was on February 14, 1778.

How grand were those oaths:

"I _____ acknowledge the United States of America to be free, independent and sovereign States; and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George III., King of Great Britain, and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do swear (or affirm) that I will, to the utmost of my power, support, maintain, and defend the United States against the said George III., his heirs and successors, and his and their abettors and adherents, and will serve the United States in the office of _____, which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding. So help me God."

And now another new and solemn service follows. As on July 7, 1776, when the country learned that independence was declared, all officers and others holding commissions came to the Court House and surrendered them, so now that the new oaths were drawn up all the county, State and Federal officers of Lancaster county came to their Court House and subscribed the oaths which I have just read. These surely were the days of big events, of brave patriots, and stout hearts—of men who relied upon Freedom and Freedom's God.

The Winter at Valley Forge.

February 28, 1778, there came to this Court House a pleading voice from Valley Forge. The "Father of his Country" sent a letter to Lancaster, with an urgent request that it be acted on, begging all good people to fatten cattle and gather provisions for the famishing army, so that they may have strength to regain the Capital in the

(2) Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 415.

spring. It is a letter full of high patriotic ardor, counselling to hope and faith, written in all the bitterness of that most bitter winter at Valley Forge. Here it was read and debated. It may be found in full in the Colonial Records.(3)

In this Court House, too, March 13, 1778, was framed for the State of Pennsylvania that famous supplication to God for the deliverance of Philadelphia, in these words:

"Whereas it hath pleased God to suffer the enemy to take possession of our Capital and the distresses attending on war have fallen heavily on the State, whereby it is become peculiarly necessary for the inhabitants to humble themselves before Him who governs the universe and turneth the hearts of men as he pleaseth, and therefore as well as in due respect to the recommendations of Congress, we do hereby most earnestly recommend to the good people of the Commonwealth to set apart Wednesday, April 22, next, for the pious purposes mentioned in said resolve and that they abstain on that day from labor and recreation. Given at Lancaster, March 13, 1778."(4)

After the Tories.

Next, on May 8 and 21 the Supreme Council in this Court House pass an edict of attainder, with forfeiture of goods for treason, against 160 loyalists or Tories, warning them that unless they appear for trial on or before a certain day they shall suffer the penalties of traitors. A few days later several hundred are attainted because of their cleavage to Great Britain. Of all those drastic measures of war this little Court House was the scene.(5)

(3) Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 429.

(4) Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 438.

(5) Col. Rec., Vol. 11, pp. 483-495-513.

One more important event enacted at this Court House, with a few concluding observations, and our task shall end.

President Wharton Dies.

May 23, 1778, President Wharton, executive head of the State of Pennsylvania, a chief actor in all the events carried out while the Government of the State was administered from this Court House from October 1, 1777, to June 20, 1778, died, and on the 24th he was given an elaborate military funeral from the Court House, where he won his laurels and where now his body lay in state. Sunday, May 24, the Council met to attend the funeral. As his body was brought out the signal was given from the cupola on the Court House—the raising of a flag—the minute guns began to fire, the civil and military parade formed and the body was borne to the Trinity Lutheran Church and buried.(6) Little more remains to be said. It may be added, however, that in this Court House great lawyers, such as Ross, Yeates, Wilson and others, pleaded great cases. Here and at Philadelphia Ross defended Tories; here constitutional cases were fought out and tried, and the records may yet be found in the cellar of our present Court House of the actions and suits entered by these great men.

It is Reduced to Ashes.

After all this brilliant train of glorious events the Court House took fire in the beginning of June, 1784, and was entirely consumed.(7) The origin of the fire was never ascertained. It was being repaired at the time and some attributed it to quicklime piled in the lower room; some thought that

(6) Col. Rec., Vol. 11, p. 498.

(7) Ellis & Evans' History of Lancaster County, p. 204.

chemicals used by the clock repairmen did it and some thought it was incendiary. At any rate, its noble career was then ended and all the varied eloquence of its being put out and settled forever by the consuming flames.

And this ends my task. I cannot properly have anything more to say except this. The events which I have set down must make us feel that the day of Lancaster's greatest glory is past and will never return. Lancaster will never, so long as the world shall stand, hold, at least relatively, so important a position in our country's history and exercise so powerful a voice and part in it in the future as it has in the past.

It can never again be the Capital of the nation even for a day; it can never again be so closely connected with the National Government as it was 125 years ago. Nor will any more Indian history ever be made on this spot. Never again can memorable scenes like these occur. The Indian is gone forever, his race is extinct, those chapters are closed. Within the precincts of this little Court House the record was made and in the gratitude and memory of our people it is preserved.

Retrospection.

And now we take our leave of the little brick structure that has been our friend for this hour. How close we feel to it all! One hundred and fifty, sixty and even seventy years fall out of our contemplation and we see it all as yesterday. How proud we should be to-day if now the building were standing preserved on its site! How we should love it and value it! What famous visitors, what great personages, we would conduct through it, into its solemn, silent Court room, up

its stairs into its chamber! How we would gaze in sacred awe into its empty seats, its quaint bench and bar, its blinds, its age-stained wood and brass, its girders and posts, its brick floor and primitive walls! How we would speak in low whispers as we rehearse or as we silently contemplate, standing within it, the train of mighty events that made it famous! All these would pass in silent parade before us in review as we stand within it! The ancient Justices with powdered wigs; the mighty and pious Zinzendorf, his eloquent sermons and strange audiences; the commingled audiences of dusky Indian chiefs and white forefathers filling the room four successive times in treaty met; the stately warriors, the speeches, the voices, the intonations; the excited, hilarious and patriotic events and meetings of 1774, with the patriotic speeches and ringing applause, punctuated with indignation against England; the military dress, adornments and bearing of the soldiers at the memorable meeting of July 4, 1776; the surrendering of commissions and removal of the arms of King George III.; the solemn picture of Congress and its session of September 27, 1777; the stormy sessions of the Supreme Council of the State and Councils of Safety for nine months; the edicts of attainder against the Tories, and their excited neighbors coming into these halls and begging for them; the funeral of the President of the State, with its martial splendor—all these we would rehearse, standing upon its very floors, and landings and stairs, if it were there to-day.

But, alas! it is gone! Oh, Lancaster, thou hast lost a treasure! Happy would you be if you owned that little building to-day. Over it you would have reared a larger building, incasing it entirely with stout walls and strong

roof like a play house in a nursery. And as ages should roll on, this covering would in turn be re-encased and re-encased until the little edifice in the centre should be a veritable holy of holies, encased and protected from the tooth of time as completely as a nation's love for it would be enshrined in the hearts of a grateful and patriotic people.

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN.

Minutes of June Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., June 5, 1903.

The June meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this afternoon, in the Society's rooms, in the Y. M. C. A. building.

On motion, the reading of the minutes of the May meeting was dispensed with, they being already in print in the pamphlet containing the May proceedings.

Messrs. James A. Myers and M. S. Shuman, of Columbia, were elected to membership.

The donations to the Society consisted of the first twelve volumes of the Second Series of Pennsylvania Archives, presented by Dr. P. J. Roebuck; "History of the One Hundred and Twenty-seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers," donated by Major Jere. Rohrer, who wrote the greater part of the book; Volume 6 of the "George Clinton Papers," donated by the State Library of New York; a "Biographical Sketch of David Fleming Houston," donated by Dr. J. W. Houston; ten volumes relative to the Commerce, Navigation, Exports and Imports of the United States and Porto Rico by F. R. Diffenderffer, and the usual exchanges from sister societies. The thanks of the Society were tendered the respective donors of the above.

The paper of the day on "The Great Historical Scenes Enacted in Lancaster's First Court House, 1739-1784," was prepared and read by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq. It detailed with great minuteness not only the building and appearance of that primitive Court of Justice, but dwelt in detail on the most important historical events en-

acted therein, until its destruction by fire, in 1784. The story of that Court House was probably never so fully written up before.

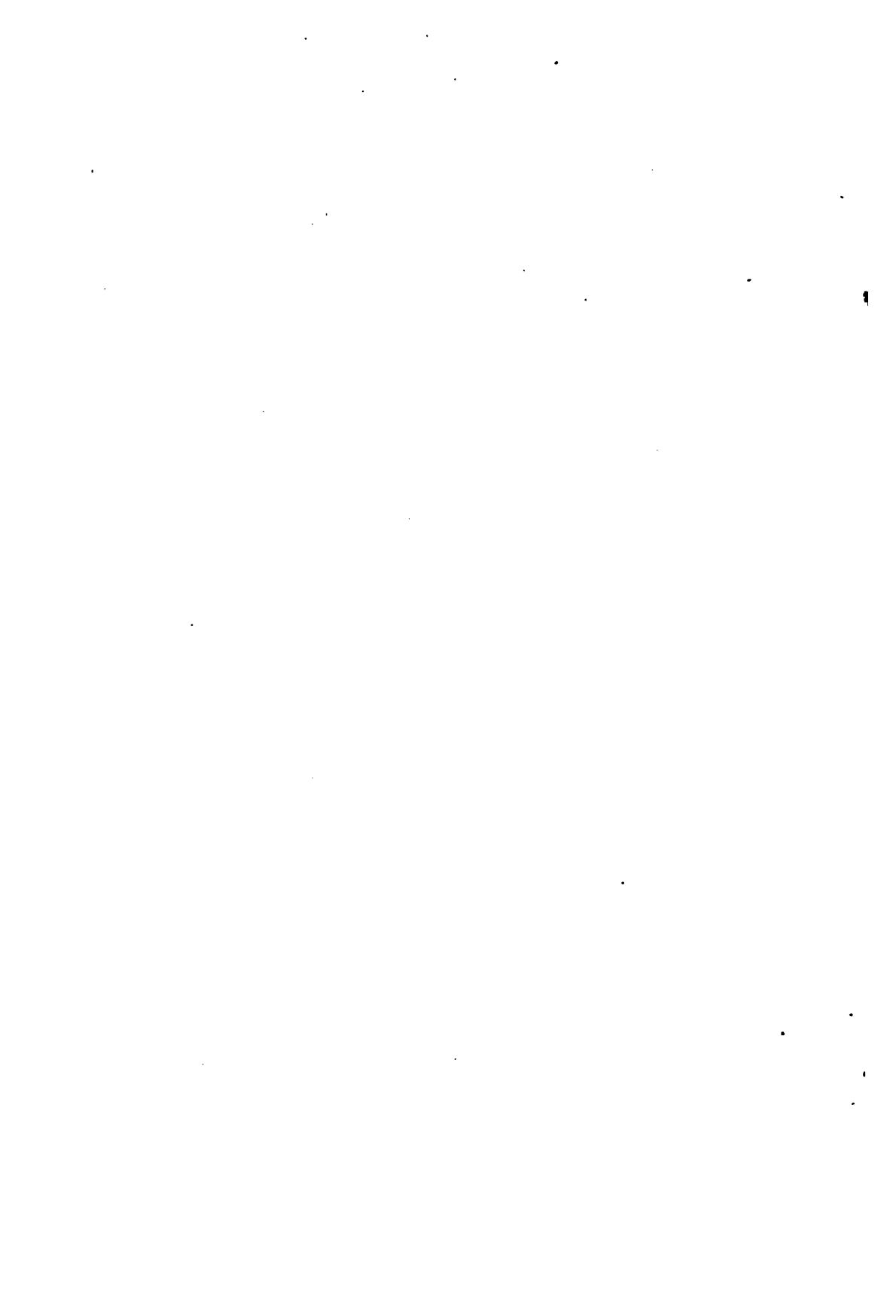
The usual discussion followed, several of the disputed points in its history being gone over, one of which was whether the structure was of logs or brick, there being authority on both sides of the question. The thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Eshleman for his paper, and it was ordered to be printed in the usual way.

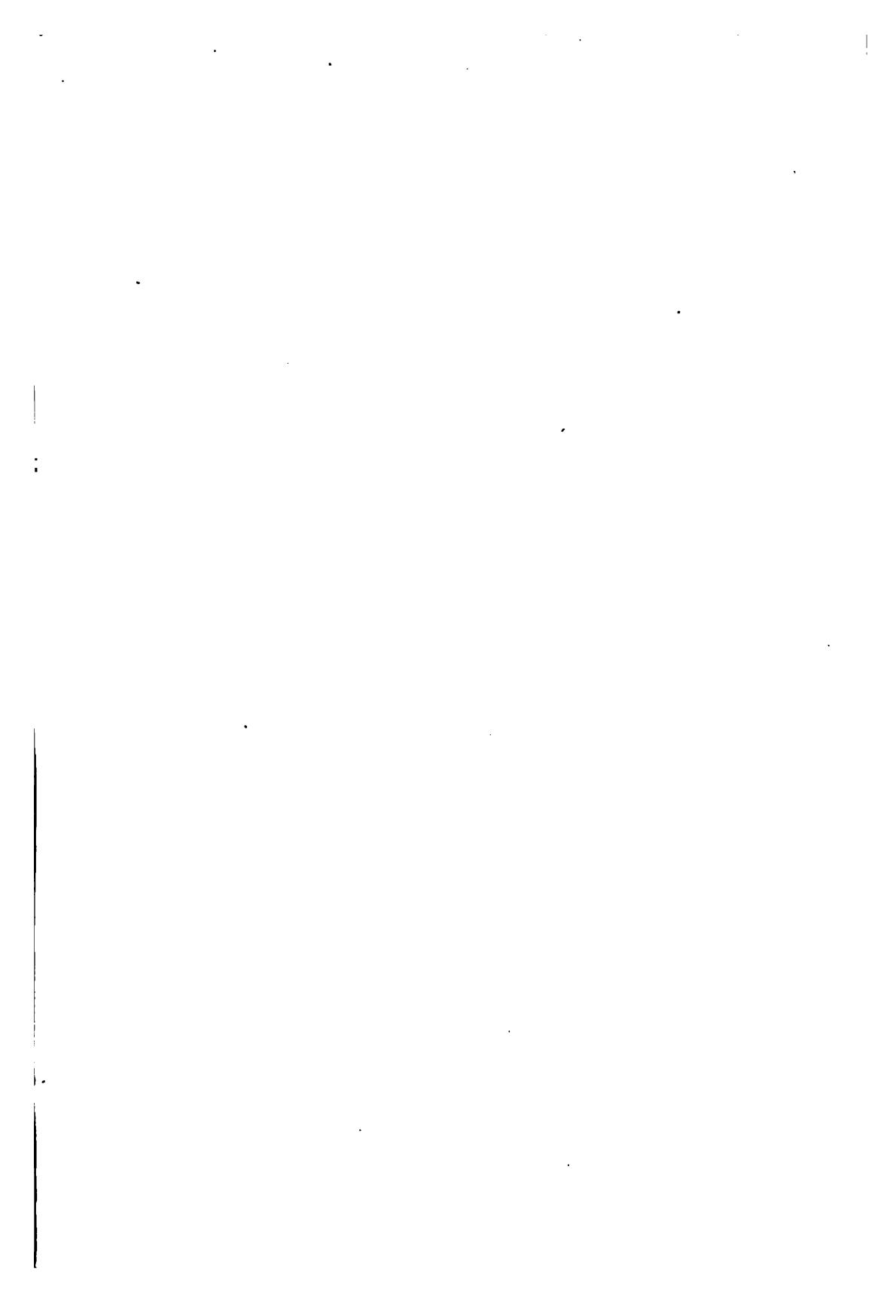
The Secretary presented an invitation from the pastor of the Lutheran congregation at Manheim, requesting the members to attend the annual "Feast of Roses," which event will take place on Sunday, June 14.

The Librarian was authorized to purchase a copy of Dr. Dubbs' newly-published "History of Franklin, Marshall, and Franklin and Marshall College," for the use of the Society, and also "Barbour's Early Pennsylvania Pottery."

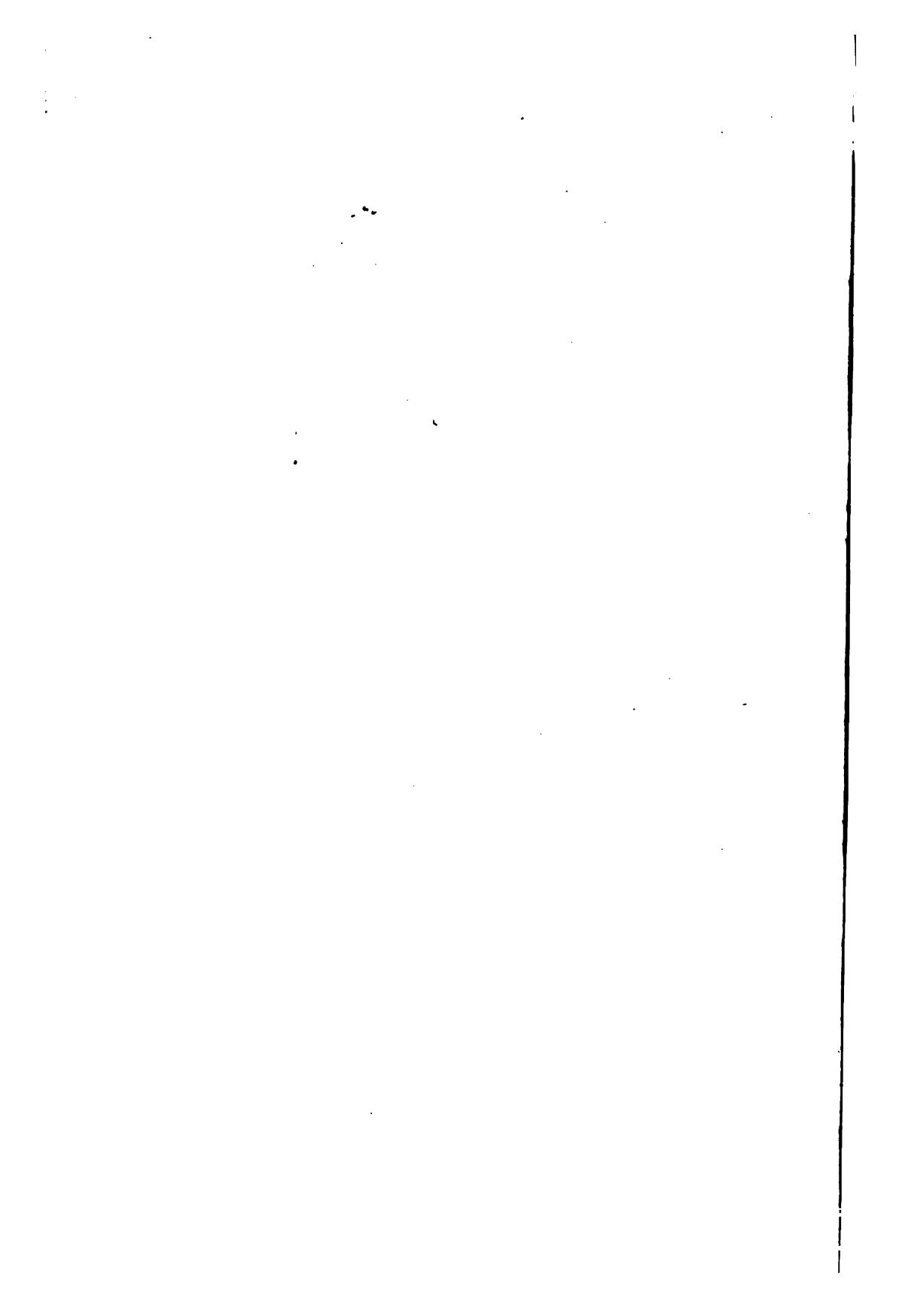
On motion, it was agreed that the usual summer vacation be declared, and no meetings will, consequently, be held in the months of July and August.

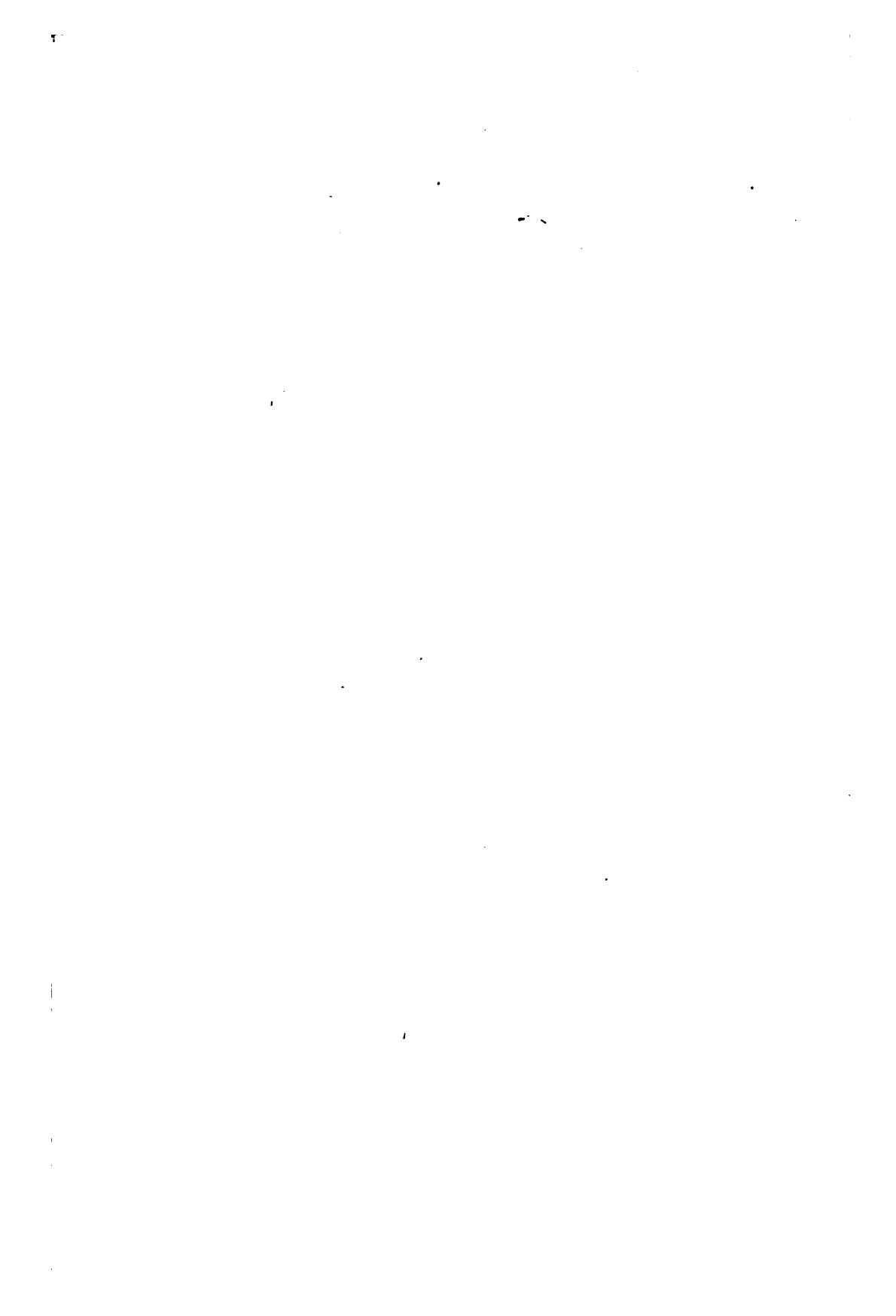
The meeting was a large one, showing a growing interest on the part of the members and the general public.











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